3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818 -
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sidered an outrage, is not looked upon as a crime, unless the woman be of such a rank as to claim respect from the perpetrator.

When all things are taken into consideration regarding the connubial system of these people, their notions of chastity, and their habits in respect of it, we shall have no reason to say but what they keep tolerably well within those bounds which honour and decency dictate*;

* It may be objected that such habits as we have been describing must often lead to a disregard of public decency, and which therefore must be very bad for the morals of the younger branches of society of both sexes, by making them acquainted with what they ought not to have any idea of, before the voice of nature whispered the important secret. In reply to this, we must observe, that no nation can well pay greater attention to public decency than the Tonga people: but at the same time we acknowledge, that conversation is often intermingled with allusions, even when women are present, which could not be allowed in any decent society in England: this, however, is never done if married women, or chiefs superior to the speaker, are near; because it would be disrespectful: but such subjects are not the result of depraved notions, they are rather the offspring of the imagination, and occasionally hazarded as vehicles of joke and humour. Notwithstanding this, the blush of female modesty suffuses the cheek in these islands as well as elsewhere, although the occasion of it is not so much considered an offence: though the females are very deficient in artificial modesty, they amply make up for it by the more genuine feeling of natural bashfulness. Those among us whose morality is almost skin deep, and who make a vast account of outside appearances, will perhaps condemn them for this.

In respect to children of both sexes, it must be acknow-

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831 and if it be asked what effect this system has
182 upon the welfare and happiness of society, it may be safely answered, that there is not the

831 ledged that they become acquainted with such subjects at a
182 very early age. Nevertheless, a young female, (suppose 8,
864 9, or 10 years old), conducts herself with becoming modesty, and any indecent allusion would put her to the blush. She possesses a kind of modest pride, which she probably copies from the example of her mother, or else it is her natural bashfulness, or perhaps both, which generally constitutes the safeguard of her chastity, till the affections of the heart growing ripe with riper years, she at length listens to the solicitations of her lover. In regard to the boys, Mr. Mariner never observed nor heard of any pernicious effect in their conduct, resulting from too early an acquaintance with these matters. When no secret is made, what is there to excite any farther inquiry? But if the subject be involved in mystery, it seizes strong hold of the mind; it becomes a frequent topic of discourse; and, what is worse, the curious inquirer is not contented with partial hearsay evidence, he has recourse to experience; for as long as any thing is concealed from him, he is restless and dissatisfied; and when he knows all that he *can* know, it will be, probably, at a period much more early than is proper: but in what other way can we account for the facts? Mr. Mariner saw no men at Tonga, nor did he hear of any, who made debauchery the business of their lives: on the contrary, they were wrestlers, racers, boxers, and club-fighters, strong, well made men, with fine swelling
831 muscles. Another circumstance must be noticed, as con-
182 nected with morality, and that is, personal cleanliness, in
[515] which no nation can excel (without ridiculous refinement) the people of these islands; and it is not unworthy of observation, that personal cleanliness sometimes argues cleanliness
[171] of mind and idea. As to certain preposterous habits, which so disgrace the moral character of nations west of them, and which have been said to infect the natives of some of the

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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least appearance of any *bad* effect. The women are very tender, kind mothers, and the children are taken exceeding good care of: for even in case of a divorce, the children of any age, (requiring parental care), go with the mother, it being considered her province to superintend their welfare till they grow up; and there is never any dispute upon this subject. Both sexes appear contented and happy in their relations to each other. As to domestic quarrels, they are seldom known; but this must be said to happen rather from the absolute power which every man holds in his own family: for even if his wife be of superior rank, he is nevertheless of higher authority in all domestic matters, and no woman entertains the least idea of rebelling against that authority; and if she should, even her own relations would not take her part, unless the conduct of her husband were undoubtedly cruel. That the men are also capable of much paternal affection, Mr. Mariner has witnessed many proofs, some of which have been related; and we have already mentioned that filial piety is a most important duty, and appears to be universally felt.

Upon these grounds we would venture to

South Sea islands, we must do the Tonga people the justice to say, that they have not the most remote idea of any thing of the kind.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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of Mariner, Thomson, Collocott, Gifford, and other writers on Tongan ethnology, however, the results of cultural change and cultural stabilization will be implicit in all that is described in these notes.[1]

Two further points may be noted here: First, all our descriptions refer directly, unless otherwise mentioned, to the culture of one commoner village, the village of Pangai. How typical this village is of other small villages throughout the Tongan kingdom we have no means of knowing directly, nor of stating with precision. We suspect however, that taken in very general terms, Pangai is fairly typical of other commoner villages where there is no high chief or noble in residence and where there is about the same measure of isolation that characterizes Pangai. More than this it is hard to say without more investigation.

The second point we would stress is this: Despite years of contact with an invading western European culture, village culture has adapted itself with very considerable success to the strains and tensions thus engendered. There has been adaptation but not extinction, a new and distinctive cultural blend but not destruction, not disintegration of either personal or social life. Some are accustomed to think that contact with a white culture always brings decay and disorder to a pre-literate culture. There is ample evidence from other parts of Polynesia, from Melanesia, or from American Indian tribes, that this cultural disintegration often occurs under these conditions. In Tonga, however, it has not occurred: and Tonga is by no means unique in this connection, even in the South Seas.

But why destruction of native culture sometimes occurs and why at other times it is possible for a people concerned to elaborate a new culture that blends old with new in a reasonably harmonious fashion, is a problem that has as yet been only noted, not carefully studied with the closeness that it deserves. In this monograph we have no theories to advance, thinking it better at this moment to describe the present-day stabilization of Pangai village-culture with as

[1] An adequate bibliography of material bearing on Tongan ethnology is given in Gifford, E. W., "Tongan Society," *B. P. Bishop Museum, Bull.* 61, Honolulu, Hawaii, 1929, 351-353. References to this work throughout this text are given as Gifford, *Tongan Society*.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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527
cooked at the picnic place, and large quantities of other food 262
will be eaten.

The *kai tunn* corresponds to the basket of food that 574
figures so prominently in the church-suppers and socials of 262
the white man. In Pangai it is contributed by arrangement 794
for such occasions as an evening devoted to singing sacred [431]
songs; for an occasional gift to the pastor of the church, for a carpenter called in to repair the church structure; for the singing and dancing-parties which meet to practise many nights in succession before some large church conference or before the visit of a member of the royal family to Vava'u. If for a group, the food is laid out and eaten after the more serious business of the evening is finished; if for an individual, the food is taken to the household and there eaten in company with household members. It is unlikely that there would be any pork in any of these food-contributions. Possibly a bit of fish or chicken would be included, but mostly the food would be prepared from the regular vegetable staples.

On almost all occasions when the villager joins with 527
his fellows for work or play food is served and eaten together. 574
It symbolizes good fellowship (as when a large group is 262
invited to a birthday-feast), token-payment for services 182
rendered (as with a working-party), validation of a socially important contract (as in a marriage-feast), or it serves as a method of marking the arrival or departure of individuals who make up the social group (birth- and death-feasts). On all of these and on other occasions still, when food is served to the group, the satisfaction of hunger is of course important. None who have watched the villager eat at one of these feasts can doubt either his hunger or his capacity for consuming the largest amounts of food. Beyond this, however, the symbolic significance of the feast is not to be overlooked. The villager is certainly well aware that the feast transforms mere eating into an expression of the social values of the group.

One further type of food-distribution may be mentioned 574
in this context; that is, a combination of a feast and food- 437
distribution for a specific money-raising purpose. This is 432
the feast termed *aho no*—"borrowing day" (?). It is held 262
on any occasion when the householder wishes to raise a

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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It is hard to give adequate feeling for the manifold interrelations of the *kava*-drinking circle in village life. It is to be realized that the villager has few other outlets for his sociability. Old-style Tongan dancing has practically vanished as a folk-activity. None in the village has adopted the white man's dancing. The church does not sponsor social gatherings except choir-practice meetings where opportunities for sociability are rare. The men's work takes them for the most part to their gardens by day. *Kava*-drinking provides good reason therefore for coming together during the evenings to discuss topics of common interest. In a very real sense a large village *kava*-circle is the Pangai equivalent to the New England town-meeting. It provides an outlet for social impulses and a forum in which matters of common concern may be argued. Because the composition of any *kava*-group changes materially from one night to the next, it is possible for the village to develop a uniformity of opinion and at the same time to avoid any splitting of the village into conflicting or partisan sub-groups. Four churches and four religious dogmas in a small village might be a source of tension when religious belief is still a matter of life and death to the believer. There is no tendency in the village for religious differences to be significant in the formation of *kava*-groups. Hence the *kava*-circle provides a common and neutral ground where men may meet on the basis of social need and for purely social purposes.

It has been evident throughout this discussion that *kava*-drinking in this commoner-village of Pangai has none of those overtones of elaborate formality and delight in social design for its own sake which are so characteristic of the *kava*-circles among the Tongan noble class and also among the chiefly class of Samoa and other islands of western Polynesia. The villager is of course aware of this formality and etiquette as practised elsewhere in Tonga.[28] He has occasionally watched in all probability, a formal *kava*-party elsewhere when nobles have met or royalty has been greeted.

[28] The formal *kava*-circle with all its etiquette, rank-symbolism, and customs is well summarised by Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 156-170). This account should be consulted to gain some idea of the many differences between the informal village *kava*-circle and the formal circle composed of those of chiefly and royal rank.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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his poll-tax and went to jail. In her anger at this injustice, Fa returned to the Wesleyan church. 794 795 578

According to Biukala, Hausia and some of his friends left the Wesleyan church and joined the Roman Catholics because they were inordinately anxious to learn to play string-band instruments and some Catholic offered to teach them if they would change churches. Others are alleged to have joined the Catholics because the Catholics in turn are alleged to pay defaulting poll- and land-taxes for them.

The reasons just given for changing churches may not be the real reasons. They are at least the sort of reasons that are considered good reasons in this culture—the sort of reason that the villager can understand because it rings true, even though he may not approve the causes or the results of such quarrelling and defection. In all cases, however, one has the definite feeling that the good-enough reason is a happening that is seized upon to justify action which is already decided upon for other grounds: in all these cases, because of fundamental personality conflict between church-member and pastor, between church-members themselves. The ego feelings of some one villager suffer frustration. He changes church affiliation from a large to a small group or from Protestant to Catholic faith because in this way he can repair his dented security-attitudes both in the welcome that awaits him in his new church (competition for members between churches and faiths is keen) and by the feeling (if he becomes Catholic) that he is acquiring knowledge and rituals which his Protestant friends do not possess. From this point of view, then, it is clear that the four churches in this small village play a dual institutional role. On the one hand, the churches provide an explanation of this world and the next, together with a code of morality. Both explanation and code serve as integrating elements in the culture. On the other hand, the fact that there are four churches means that those in the village who are unusual, abnormal, a-social, anti-social—personality deviants in other words—can find haven in one of the churches when the others do not please. Thus, changing church-affiliation provides a means of solving on a social plane interpersonal conflicts that might otherwise 794 795 153 154 794 795 154 182

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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become strong enough to result in social disorganization and disintegration.

794 795 554 Changing from one Protestant church to another is also made easy by the fact that the one who changes does not lose any religious status in the process. If he is a lay-preacher in one church, he is welcomed as a lay-preacher into the other church. He does not have to start from the lowest rung of the congregational ladder and then work himself up to a position of higher social status in the new congregation. In this way the person who changes is able to satisfy personal conflicts on the one hand and preserve his village religious status on the other hand and at the same time.

795 798 From none of the Protestant villagers was it possible to obtain any clear idea of theological differences between the Wesleyan churches. Villagers simply take for granted the fact of the three sects. Only some of the more enquiring bother their heads about why and wherefore. Few of the Protestants, however, do not at one time or another worry about the existence of the Roman Catholics. This is shown by little things: when two Catholic boys went to jail for stealing melons, there was a sort of, "What can you expect but this?" look on Protestant faces; Biukala makes the habit of teasing and often angering Roman Catholic boys by making a parody of crossing himself whenever he sees them, or else trying to imitate the sounds and words of Catholics saying the Catechism; Kali takes the church medal that Ana wears round her neck, holds it up for all to see, then makes a few derogatory comments about idol-worship and makes as if to tear the medal from Ana's neck—those standing by approve of Kali's joking while Ana flounces angrily away. These little things are typical and indicate underlying antagonism. They are summed up by the opinion that is typical also of the Protestant villager: the Catholic becomes a good person by remembering long prayers—the Protestant must strive for goodness by a never-ending attempt to receive Christ into his heart and soul. The validity of this opinion is not at issue. It is given simply because it is the way in which the villager thinks about a problem that probably worries him more than he will admit.

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9

New Zealand Geographer

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# MODERN TONGA[1]

C. G. F. SIMKIN

THE KINGDOM OF TONGA is a small and unimportant corner of the Pacific. It has barely enough people for a medium sized town, not nearly enough land for an average New Zealand county, and no physical resources apart from a soil and climate favourable to sub-tropical agriculture. Commercially it is of slight consequence, even to its immediate neighbours; politically it relies upon Britain for its actual independence.

But if Tonga is negligible as a nation, its social arrangements deserve notice as being both interesting in themselves and suggestive for colonial reform: for the Tongans are the only Pacific people to retain real self-government, and they have used it to develop a society which is both reasonably adjusted to the modern world and satisfactorily adapted to their own needs. This means that they have solved one of the basic problems confronting colonial policy. On the political side the solution has taken the form of an independent Kingdom, protected by a Great Power, but effectively controlled by its own traditional leaders, who have already made it into a modern state, and are now developing it into a constitutional democracy. On the economic side it rests upon a land system which excludes plantations and proletariat and gives every man a farm of his own. This simple but admirable institution prevents unemployment, promotes economic equality and independence, cushions the country against slumps, and together with

[1] This statement is the outcome of a few months' military service in Tonga during which spare time was spent collecting information about its people and institutions, mainly from official papers, from interviews with heads of departments, and from discussions with Tongan and European residents. Acknowledgement is gratefully made of the debt due to all who gave so freely of their own ample knowledge of the Kingdom, more particularly to the patient and very helpful assistance of Mr. Nicholson, the Treasurer, Mr. Brownlees, the Secretary to the Government, Mr. Cottrell-Dormer, the Director of Agriculture, the Rev. Mr. Gribble, the Acting-Director of Education, Dr. Brown, the Chief Medical Officer, and the Rev. Mr. Page, Dean of the Tongan Missions.

[p. 99]

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 0U9 Tonga 0U9



182 free education, free health services and traditional responsibilities for mutual aid makes an effective and long-established system of social security.

## Natural Heritage

131 The hundred and fifty odd islands of the Kingdom of Tonga are scattered over a rectangle of the Pacific extending four hundred miles from north to south, their centre of gravity being near 20°S 173°W. Although they are spread over so much ocean their total area is less than 270 square miles, and all but thirty-six of them are either too small or too volcanic to be settled (Fig. 1).

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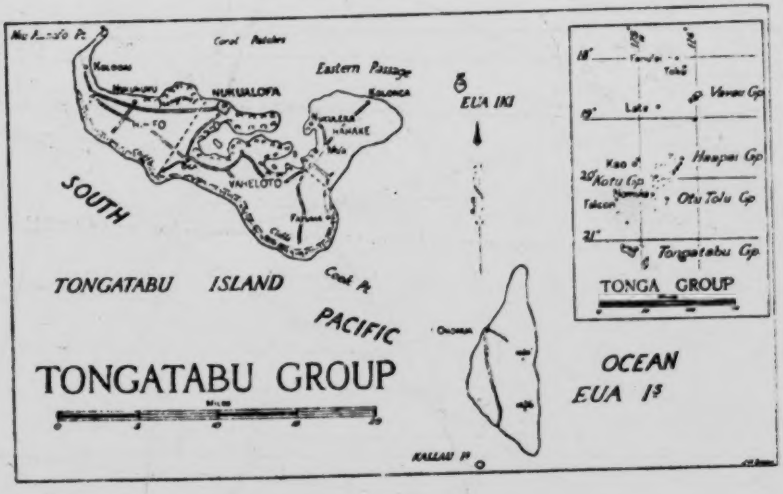


Fig. 1

133 Geologically they consist of two chains: a volcanic chain lying to the west of a line from Ata to Tafahi, and an eastern chain of coralline islands encircled by reefs. Despite their volcanic origin none of these islands reaches higher than Kao (which has a peak of 3,380 feet) and few of them have hills worth the name. Lakes and streams are equally 133 scarce. Tofua and Niua Fo'ou each has a fair-sized lake and there are 312 a number of creeks on Eua, but the other islands have to rely entirely upon wells and the storage of rain for their water. One reason for this 134 is that the soil is extremely porous, being a shallow layer of red volcanic ash, devoid of quartz, but containing broken-down particles of limestone. It is initially very fertile, but does not carry crops for long

41: Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1939
OU9 Tonga OU9



151 it may be noted that Collins (*l.c.* 219–220) using
143 the fourth edition of the Ishihara test in which
125 Plates 10 and 11 appear to correspond to Plates
128 18 and 19 of the seventh edition, found that 4% of whites with normal colour-vision could read the hidden number in Plate 10 (18) and 27% could read the hidden number in Plate 11 (19). Collins regards the results for Plate 10 as distinctly curious and puzzling, but she believes that Plate 11 is proved to be an unsatisfactory test-plate. It may be noted that the 'deviant' normal Tongans all read all the four plates with equal ease.

822 In regard to general colour-discrimination,
[125] Tongan informants, male and female, were asked to name a series of colours in a colour chart. Specific colour names collected were: *hinehina*, cream or white; *tetea*, skin white: *fulufulu*, yellow or gold; *enga* or *engeenga*, yellow; *kula*, red; *uliuli*, black. There is no specific colour-name for blue and possibly none for green either. The Tongans use many descriptive colour-names. To give a few examples: *lanu moana*, blue (*lanu*, colour, *moana*, sea); *lanu mata*, green; *pane funefu*, brown (dim, obscure, indistinct); *memea*, tan or buff (drab); *kupesi*, dark brown (stencil for making bark cloth); *loufusi*, deep green (banana leaf). Degrees of saturation are expressed by such qualifying words as *mama*, light, and *fakapo'opouli*, dark.

151 In view of colour-test results, the lack of a
822 specific colour-term for blue need not necessarily imply a poor discrimination for this colour, nor does the relatively poor Tongan colour-vocabulary necessarily connote weak colour-discrimination.[4] All informants were at pains to indicate that they had no difficulty in distinguishing clearly each of the colours in the colour chart. Their difficulty, they said, was simply one of finding words to
822 indicate clearly discriminated colours. Doubt-
182 less, as C. S. Myers has suggested,[5] colour names are formed where they are needed; where they are needless, they will not be formed, however great the sensibility of a people to specific colours. The Tongans seem to have developed sufficient colour terms adequately to control their

[113] [4] For a summary of the philological evidence and the theory based thereon, see Klineberg, Otto: *Race Differences*, New York, 1935, 142–144, and Clements, *l.c.* 420–422.

[113] [5] Myers, C. S.: 'Some Observations on the Development of the Colour Sense,' *Brit. J. Psych.*, 2, 1908, 361.

[p. 171-B]

41: Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1939
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environment according to specific cultural needs. Where named discrimination was superfluous to further this control, the name was not used.[6] In terms of developing needs brought about by white

[6] This explanation would also appear adequate to explain the peculiarities in the colour-naming system of the Pukapukans, another Polynesian people. *See*

[P.172-A]

41: Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1939
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contact, *ad hoc* descriptive words or phrases seem efficient enough as far as the average Tongan villager is concerned to satisfy a necessity for increasingly exact colour-discrimination.

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Beaglehole, Ernest and Pearl: 'Ethnology of Pukapuka,' *Bishop Museum Bulletin*, 150, 1938, 336.

[P·172-B]

43: Maude K-4,5 (1962) 1970
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The areas of high population density are the western end of Tongatapu and all but one of the islands of Ha'apai, and population densities in these areas have roughly doubled since 1931 (Table 1). The analysis is based partly on material collected by observation and questioning throughout Tongatapu and Ha'apai, and partly on more detailed data for three villages with moderate to high population densities (Table 2 and Fig. 1).

In areas of high population density fallow periods are shorter and cropping periods tend to be longer than elsewhere. In Ha'apai the cropping period is usually from three to five years, compared with the two to three years more common elsewhere. This is indicated by item 6 of Table 2, for the ratio of total per capita garden area to the per capita area cleared in 12 months gives an estimate of the life of gardens. The figure for Holopeka, however, appears rather high, as in this village few gardens were seen which had been cropped for more than four years, and it seems likely that for some reason a smaller area than was usual had been cleared for new gardens that year.

The length of the fallow period, on the other hand, is only one to three years in Ha'apai as compared with three to five years elsewhere. This difference is also illustrated in Table 2, which shows the median fallow period (item 8), although the figures are based on too few gardens to be conclusive. Many farmers interviewed in Ha'apai claimed to be using shorter fallows than when they began

TABLE 1. POPULATION DENSITIES, 1931 AND 1966 (PER SQUARE MILE)

| DISTRICT | 1931 | 1966 |
|---|---|---|
| Ha'apai* | 316 | 517 |
| Western Tongatapu** | 248 | 540 |
| Remainder of Tongatapu*** | 85 | 335 |

* Excluding Tofua, Kao and the unsettled islands.

** Including the villages from Ha'atafu to Fo'ui.

*** Excluding Nuku'alofa and the surrounding settlements of Hofoa, Puke, Sia'atoutai, Fatai, Haveluloto and Tofoa, and their lands. This has been done to remove the population of the urban centre of Nuku'alofa, the national capital, from the calculation of population density.

[p. 60-B]

TABLE 2. AGRICULTURAL DATA FOR THREE VILLAGES, 1962

| VILLAGE | HA'AVAKATOLO | HA'AKAME | HOLOPEKA |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Location | Western Tongatapu | Central Tongatapu | Lifuka, Ha'apai |
| 2. Population* | 245 (1962) | 299 (1962) | 147 (1966) |
| 3. Population density (per square mile) | 460 | 390 | 588 |
| 4. Total per capita garden area (acres) | 0.37 | 0.30 | 0.30 |
| 5. Per capita garden area cleared in last 12 months (acres) | 0.18 | 0.17 | 0.05 |
| 6. Ratio of items 4 to 5 | 2.6 | 1.8 | 6.0 |
| 7. Number of households whose gardens were surveyed** | 16 | 13 | 12 |
| 8. Median fallow period (years) | 4.5 | 4.0 | 3.0 |
| 9. Number of gardens on which item 8 is based | 12 | 9 | 8 |

* The 1962 figures were collected by the writer. The 1966 figure is from the census.

** These represent sampling fractions of one-third, three-tenths and one-half, respectively.

[p. 61-A]

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43: Maude K-4,5 (1962) 1970
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43: Maude K-4,5 (1962) 1970
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farming, instancing reductions in the fallow of from four to five years down to two to three years and from three to four years down to one to two years. Furthermore, in Ha'apai the fallowed land is more likely to include scattered crops of cassava or taro, for some farmers have a type of combined cropping and fallow period in which the grasses and other herbaceous plants of the fallow regrowth are left unweeded around the crop, except when part of the crop is harvested and replanted. Farmers claim that both the fallow growth and the cassava help to restore the fertility of the soil, and that when the plot is finally cleared and harvested, after perhaps two years, it can be planted immediately in yams. This is a more intensive development of the common practice of leaving some crops on the land after cultivation of the plot has ceased, for the crops are often replanted while the plot is under bush fallow growth and cropping continues during the whole of the fallow period.

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In Ha'apai and western Tongatapu land shortage has led to most allotments being completely planted in coconuts, although often with a fairly open spacing of the palms. In the village of Holopeka, for example, only one garden was found in which an area, no more than an acre, had been left clear of coconuts.

241 245 182

[p. 61-B]

There are also significant differences in the food crop pattern between areas of high and low population density. In areas of high population density cassava becomes the staple food crop and yams are less frequently grown, despite the fact that cassava, which was only introduced into Tonga in the nineteenth century, has a low status as a food and yam is the prestige tuber. With the widespread planting of coconuts and the shorter fallows which have resulted from the increasing pressure on the land farmers complain that there is now less land suitable for yam growing, and many are unable to afford the long fallows considered necessary to produce the right soil conditions for the tuber. Cassava, on the other hand, is easy to cultivate, is more resistant to drought than the other staples available, gives good yields even on heavily cropped soils, and does not require a lengthy fallow. In Ha'apai it is not unusual to find plots which have been cropped with cassava for four or five years in succession. Dryland varieties of taro have also increased in popularity because they can be replanted several times, and like cassava were introduced into Tonga only in the nineteenth century.

241 182 241 182 244 [245]

The reaction to population growth has therefore involved a reduction in the fallow period, a lengthen-

241 182 245

[p. 64C]

43: Maude K-4,5 (1962) 1970
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ing of the cropping period,[1] a change in the food crop pattern, and a complete areal merging of the bush fallow food cropping system and coconut growing. In some districts the agricultural system is now quite intensive by shifting cultivation standards, with a cropping period/fallow period ratio of about 1:1, and supports population densities of 500 to 600 persons per square mile (cf. Nye & Greenland, 1960, p. 128). However, despite the probable doubling in the intensity of cropping over the last three or four decades there has been no change in the most important element in the system, the technique of maintaining soil fertility. The vast majority of Tongan farmers still depend on a bush fallow, and while fertilizers are increasingly being used for some cash crops this is mostly in central and eastern Tongatapu, where the major commercial banana growers are concentrated, rather than in more densely populated and more intensively cultivated western Tongatapu or Ha'apai. Fertilizers are not used for subsistence crops, neither have other techniques such as planted fallows, composting, manuring or crop rotations been adopted. The agricultural system remains a fairly simple one, and the unsatisfactory features described in the previous section remain.

Two broad explanations for this lack of change in agricultural techniques can be offered. In the first place, it is possible that under Tongan conditions such improvements are not yet necessary. The soils, being derived from recent volcanic materials and not subject to intensive leaching in Ha'apai and Tongatapu, are of high inherent fertility. While the increased intensity of cropping appears to have resulted in a moderate decline in fertility status, it is possible that yields have been maintained by the adoption of new crops, particularly cassava. Furthermore, Nye and Greenland (1960, pp. 123, 129) point out that under a bush fallowing system it is possible to crop at varying levels of intensity and fertility without catastrophic consequences to the soil, and that up to a limit decreases in yields resulting from an increase in the intensity of cropp-

[1] According to Nye and Greenland (1960, p. 123) the general response of shifting cultivators to population increase is to change only the fallow period.

[p. 62-A]

ing may be more than offset by increases in overall production because of the longer period of cropping. Shifting cultivation systems, in other words, are fairly flexible, and may be able to undergo a good deal of intensification without change in the technique of maintaining soil fertility. 241 134 182

A brief examination of possible areas of stress within the agricultural system, following the approach of Farmer, Lea and Street (Farmer, 1954; Lea, 1964; Street, 1969), suggests that the above argument might possibly apply to Tonga. Increased intensity of cropping will produce changes in the fallow vegetation, in soil fertility and erosion, and in crop yields, and the severity of these changes gives an indication of the extent to which changes in the bush fallow system are necessary. 241 134 182 121

Firstly, increased intensity of land use has resulted in some changes in the fallow vegetation. In the densely settled areas the secondary growth consists of grasses and other herbaceous plants, and shrubs such as lantana (*Lantana camara*), and guava (*Psidium guajava*). Only where the fallow period is about four or more years in length do trees such as *Hibiscus tiliaceus* and *Rhus simarubaefolia* (*Rhus taitensis*) become established. Farmers in Ha'apai complain that more work is now needed to control grasses and other weeds, many of them in fact introduced, and the metal push hoe, introduced into Tonga last century, is now essential for land preparation and weeding. 241 182 241 182 137 241 182 412

Soil erosion, another possible indication of stress, is not a serious problem, and in Ha'apai and Tongatapu, the most intensively cultivated groups, the likelihood of erosion is restricted by the porous soil, the underground drainage and the lack of relief. On the other hand, it is widely believed that soil fertility in the more densely settled areas, particularly in Ha'apai, has declined with the increasing intensity of land use. The majority of farmers questioned in areas of high population density felt that yields had declined and blamed the shortening of the fallow period, while some also cited the increased planting of coconuts as a factor. These beliefs are partially suprorted by the results of chemical analyses made of Tongatapu and Ha'apai soils. On the [125] 241 134 182

[p. 62-B]

43: Maude K-4,5 (1962) 1970
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basis of parent materials, relief and climate, Ha'apai soils should be very similar to those of Tongatapu, but in fact appear to have much lower levels of available phosphorus and possibly slightly lower levels of available potassium.[1] Soil analysis by itself, however, is not particularly conclusive, and no yield measurements or fertilizer trials have been made which might provide further evidence on the question of differences in soil fertility. Any decline in fertility that may have occurred has obviously been only moderate. The soils of Ha'apai are by no means nearly exhausted, and satisfactory yields are still obtained. During fieldwork it proved impossible to find a plot which farmers considered so depleted in fertility that it would have to be left fallow for more than about three years before reasonable yields could again be obtained. There is also no evidence to suggest that people in the areas of high population density have a diet poorer in quantity or quality than elsewhere in Tonga.

241 134 182 125 241 134 182 182 262

While there has therefore been some deterioration in the fallow vegetation and probably some decline in soil fertility there are as yet no indications of serious stress in the agricultural system. Food production per head may have been maintained by the increase in the length of cropping in relation to fallow, and by the shift in crops, and it is significant that, despite their complaints of declining yields, hardly any of the farmers questioned in the areas of high population density seemed to feel any need for changes in the bush fallow technique. The argument that changes in methods of maintaining soil fertility may not be necessary under Tongan conditions therefore receives some support, but it is not yet possible to determine whether the absence of serious stress reflects the ability of the soil to bear frequent cropping, or is more a result of the limited length of time the soil has been intensively farmed.

241 182 [134] [433] 241 182 134

There are, however, further possible explanations for the failure to adopt new techniques. The rate of

241 182

[1] The samples were of the top 10 to 12 inches of *kelefatu* soils in the two groups. Ten samples were collected in Ha'apai and 21 in Tongatapu. The mean level of available phosphorus was 43 p.p.m. for the Ha'apai samples and 1052 p.p.m. for the samples from Tongatapu. The difference between these means is significant at the 2 per cent level. The mean level of available potassium was 373 p.p.m. in Ha'apai and 529 p.p.m. in Tongatapu, but this difference is not statistically significant.

[126]

[p.63-A]

43: Maude K-4,5 (1962) 1970
OU9 Tonga OU9

population growth over the last three decades, and consequently the rate of increase in the intensity of cropping, has probably been more rapid than the rate at which Tongan farmers are willing to change their established methods and particularly their habits of work. By contrast, the more elaborate techniques used by the New Guinea agriculturalists discussed by Brookfield (1962) and Clarke (1966) appear to have been developed over a lengthy period under conditions of slow population growth. Furthermore, in the past the Department of Agriculture has done very little experimental or extension work on the problem of maintaining soil fertility under food cropping, and most of the technical advice given has concerned cash crops. Consequently many Tongan farmers have little knowledge of the techniques that could be adopted, and unlike shifting cultivators in some other areas they have had no contact with peoples practising more advanced systems of subsistence agriculture.[2] They also have no tradition of livestock farming (except with pigs) which could be developed into an intensive farming system based on manuring, as is found in parts of Africa.

The relevance of Boserup's thesis to the process of agricultural change in Tonga may now be briefly reviewed. While none of the material presented above conflicts with her thesis that the intensification of traditional agricultural systems occurs only when forced by population pressure, for it is evident that differences in the intensity of cropping in Tonga are related to differences in population density rather than to differences in land quality, it does suggest some qualifications to her argument.

Firstly, not all of the adaptations made by Tongan farmers to population growth have involved increases in labour input, for one response has been to adopt a high yielding and easily cultivated crop such as cassava.[3] Secondly, a good deal of intensification seems possible without necessitating basic changes in the agricultural system. Short-term in-

[2]Compare the comments by Boserup (1965, pp.41, 64).

[3]On the other hand more labour is now required for clearing and weeding gardens and yields have probably been affected by the decline in soil fertility, but whether the net result has been a decline in output per man-hour is impossible to determine in the absence of data on labour inputs and production.

[p.63-B]

43: Maude K-4,5 (1962) 1970
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creases in population, resulting in say a doubling in the intensity of cropping, may therefore not bring about significant changes in agricultural techniques, even when quite high levels of intensity are reached. Thirdly, an imbalance between the rate of increase in the intensity of cropping and the rate of agricultural change may also be expected in areas experiencing rapid population growth, and where farmers have little knowledge of innovations which could be adopted, a situation which applies in other parts of the Pacific besides Tonga.

Probably the major limitation on the usefulness of Boserup's thesis under present Tongan conditions, however, is the fact that population growth is only one factor influencing agricultural change, for the increasing commercialization of Tongan life has affected the whole of the agricultural system. Involvement in cash cropping has helped to encourage the adoption of food crops which require less labour, and has added to the pressure on the bush-fallow system through the increased planting of coconuts, bananas and other crops.[1]

The current Coconut Replanting Scheme appears likely to modify further the food cropping system. Firstly, the increased density of palms resulting from new planting, and the restriction on cropping around each palm reduces the area available for other crops. Secondly, the need to keep down the bush growth around the new palms and to avoid any burning which would damage them places severe restrictions on the practices of bush fallowing and slashing and burning. Thirdly, if the Scheme's aim of high productivity is to be achieved and the maximum benefit gained from the selected seed nuts the continued use of fertilizers is essential and is being strongly encouraged. The eventual replacement of the bush fallow as the technique for maintaining soil fertility in Tonga may therefore be as much a result of the requirements of commercial agricul-

[1] In times of good export prices farmers buy much of their food and subsistence cropping declines.

[p. 64-A]

44: Posesi Fanua G,I-5 (no date) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

# ›out the Folk Tales

643 all. In similar positions of sovereignty were the Pharaohs
[171] of Egypt and the Dalai Lama of Tibet.

771 As polytheism prevailed during these times, it was
182 the many different gods who were responsible for creating and maintaining social relationships within the society; for the system of taboos (enforced by the gods or fear of the gods), which were early Tonga's informal means of social control, kept law and order.
[538] The extent of the influence of the gods on Tongan thinking is revealed in the folk tales: "Son of the Sun," "Crying Princess," "Daughter of a Clam," and "Rainbow and Her Daughter."

643 Since the *Tu'i Tonga* was believed to be a direct
776 descendant of the gods, he was himself regarded as a
771 god; in effect, the *Tu'i Tonga* was the gods' representative on earth. Thus, a series of rituals, taboos and myths
643 were associated with the *Tu'i Tonga*'s position. His wish
771 was law; furthermore, his possessions and his person were so sacred that they were not to be touched by any unauthorized person without the threat of severe
[538] punishment, probably death. The paramount superiority ascribed to the *Tu'i Tonga* is noted in "Prohibitions Ignored," "Son of the Sun," and "Tukunga Kautā."

775 Tonga's underworld, called Pulotu, was the abode
565

[p.9-B]

775 of the gods and the place where the souls of deceased
565 rulers and chiefs went after death (commoners had no souls, thus no afterlife).

182 To add to the complexity of Tonga's highly sophisti-
788 cated society, events were regulated by particular rituals. Among these, for example, were the elaborate ceremonies surrounding *kava* drinking (such as in "Momo and Nua") and marriage rites (as in "Son of the Sun"). Such rituals have, to a great extent, remained a part of Tongan traditions over the centuries.

175 At certain points throughout history, the Pacific was
648 the center of great mobility and conquest. At times, Tonga extended her dominion to neighboring islands such as Samoa (thus the references in several of the folk tales).

[p. 10-A]

133 Tonga being a country made up of islands (150 at
182 present), the sea has always been a factor around which
181 life revolved. Tongans are reputedly among the most
adventuresome, adept seafarers. According to popular
174 belief, Tonga and Samoa may well have been the center of dispersal for other island groups. That is, the first Polynesians who migrated, say, from southeastern Asia and Indonesia, made the area of Tonga and Samoa the cradle of Polynesian civilization.

181 Thus, the innumerable references to the sea which
823 are made in this book, are reflective of the feeling of respect for and communion with the sea which the Tongans have always felt, as well as of the spirit of adventure and seafaring which have long been a vital part of the Tongan way of life.

Donna Gerstle

[p. 10-B]

[p. 11 is blank]

46: Decktor Korn E-5. (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
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as researchers get on with the job of describing 'social structure' and 'typical' cultural patterning" (1975: 1). The Peltos are not the first to call for recognition of intra-societal variation. Indeed, while part of their attack on 'uniformist thinking' is directed specifically at some of the work of Ward Goodenough (1970: 99), the theoretical and methodological implications of intra-societal variability have been a consistent theme in Goodenough's work, beginning as early as 1956 in his paper on "Residence Rules". Others writing in the 1950s who stressed the fact of intra-societal variation include Embree (1950), Leach (1954), and Geertz (1959), and the Peltos provide further examples. Nevertheless, the point remains that "the predominant tendency in anthropological reporting and theory-building continues to be made up of constructions reflecting fundamental assumptions of cognitive homogeneity and behavioral sharing " (Pelto and Pelto 1975: 6).

To the extent that there is this tendency, it is difficult to make sense of the extensive variability that characterizes Tongan society at the local level. Indeed, I would suggest that assumptions of cognitive homogeneity and behavioral sharing are the main reason why Tongan society does not readily yield to anthropological treatment that seeks to provide an analysis of social structure or of the

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
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182 cultural principles that shape people's lives.
621
[121] There are three aspects to the variability of elements of local organization in Tonga:

a. There is considerable diversity within each of the different kinds of social grouping found at the local level. [592] For example, among the 145 households in the village of Motulahi in 1970 there were one-generation, two-generation, three-generation, and four-generation households; households with from one to seven family groups; and households with family groups linked by the tie between parents and daughter, others linked by the tie between parents and son, between brother and sister, between sister and sister, and so on. Not only is there this diversity [60] [575] [794] of household types, but there are also seemingly different forms of kin-groups and voluntary associations and a number of different religious denominations, all in the same village.

b. The statistical distributions of these variations is 182 not uniform from one village to the next. For example, 621 each of the three Methodist denominations in Tonga has a 794 church in Motulahi, while the village adjoining Motulahi has only one Methodist church. But whereas the adjoining village has a large Roman Catholic population and has a Roman Catholic church, there is no Roman Catholic church in Motulahi; instead, the few Roman Catholics in Motulahi

attend services in the neighboring village. Other researchers' reports confirm this variability in the inter-village distribution of diversity. Thus, in contrast to Motulahi, where more than one third of the households in 1970 were composed of more than one family group, Morton reports that in the 42 households in another village in 1971 there was only one household consisting of more than a single family group (1972: 46), and Marcus reports that in a third village in 1972 one fifth of the households were composed of more than one family group (1973: 46-47).

c. The distribution of population among the different forms of any kind of social grouping varies from time to time. For example, people are liable to change their denominational affiliation. I first became aware of this phenomenon when I attended a service at one of the local churches in Motulahi and among the congregants was a woman who I thought belonged to a different local congregation. I spoke with her afterwards and remarked on my surprise at seeing her in church that day; I asked if she was merely a visitor for that day. No, she said, she belonged to the congregation. I asked if I had been mistaken in thinking that she was affiliated with a different denomination, and her response astounded me: "That's right, I used to be a Catholic, but now I'm a Methodist." This was said in a wholly matter-of-fact way, as if it should make perfect sense to me.

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
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182 sense to me. And, as time went by, I learned that besides
621 switching denominational affiliation, people may shift their household membership, their kin-group affiliation, and their membership in various other local groups.

182 If one approaches the Tongan data with assumptions
621 of cognitive homogeneity and behavioral sharing, the
121 variability of local organization at the local level makes Tongan society appear to be in a formless state of continual flux. Besides this, another preconception that may be brought to the Tongan data and may contribute to the appearance of formlessness is the assumption that in a rural agricultural setting there is a recognizable local community. It should be noted, however, that throughout the dissertation I speak of 'local organization' rather [361] than 'village organization'. This is because the village is not a significant unit of organization in Tongan society. The question of 'what is a community?' and whether the locale of the anthropologist's investigation is properly called a community crops up repeatedly, particularly in urban studies (Epstein 1964a, Mitchell 1969, Leeds 1973). Nevertheless, one still encounters the assumption that a village, viewed as a social unit, is a residentially-based grouping of persons, the aggregate of whose multiplex relationships is such that the village

182 constitutes a separable sub-system within a larger system.
621 Certainly, I held this assumption for the first few months
121 of my research and, accordingly, sought to discover the "basis" for the presumed cohesion of the village-community. In the light of the Tongan data, it is clear that I had
621 made a number of unfounded assumptions. The fact is that from the point of view of local organization in Tonga the village as such has little significance; it neither functions as a political group nor is there any other group whose membership co-incides with all the inhabitants of the village.

121 The materials that have been presented above give
621 rise to the following questions:
182

1. Given the absence of overarching organization at the local level, how are the various local groupings in Tongan society articulated with one another?

2. What is the explanation for the diversity found in the various forms of social groupings at the local level?

3. What is the explanation for the changeability of villagers' memberships and affiliations?

4. Why is there variation in the statistical distribution of social groupings from one village to the next?

121 The kind of explanation put forward in answering these questions is not of the sort that philosophers of science call a 'covering law'; that is, I am not arguing

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of social stratification that appears to be emerging in Tonga (Maude 1971; Marcus 1975b, 1976). The study of this wider system was beyond the scope of my investigation.

## Variability Among Villages

The ethnographic data presented in this dissertation were collected mainly among the people of Motulahi, a village on Tongatapu. It might be asked whether Motulahi is a typical village. However, the notion of a typical village (which is generally of dubious ethnological validity) has no application to Tonga, for there is considerable diversity among Tongan villages with respect to a number of important variables. For example, there are significant differences between isolated village-islands on the one hand and villages on the relatively large island of Tongatapu on the other, or between a village on Tongatapu less than a mile from Nuku'alofa and another at the far end of the island. Villages in Tonga also differ considerably with respect to size of population, from less than one hundred people to more than one thousand, and the dimension of village size cuts across the dimension of location. There are also differences among villages with respect to ecological setting, demographic pressures, diversity of income-producing activities, and the number of local congregations and other community organizations. Other variables include such factors as whether the village is

182 621 on a government estate or a noble's estate (and, if it is a noble's estate, whether the noble is resident in the village), what schools are available, what modes of transportation are available, and so on.

114 I began to recognize the variety of local conditions in Tonga and the fact of variability from one village to the next within the first month of beginning fieldwork, after taking a week's boat-trip among the islands of Ha'apai. There I had the opportunity to observe a considerable range of ecological and demographic settings, in addition to what I had already seen and learned of the 121 diversity on Tongatapu. As I began to appreciate the variability of Tongan society at the local level, it became clear that I ought to conduct my research in a village that embraced as much as possible of this diversity. The following is an extract from my first report from the field, written five weeks after my arrival in Tonga, setting out the factors that were prompting me to select the village of Motulahi as my research base:

> It seems to me that (a) I should be on Tongatapu, (b) outside Nuku'alofa and its immediate fringing villages, in a village (c) sufficiently close to Nuku'alofa that students at secondary schools would live at home rather than reside with relatives in town, and (d) sufficiently large that there would be more than one school and more than one or two individuals with different bases of power within the same village. . . .
>
> 121 The place I have chosen is the village of Motulahi, 621 which combines a number of interesting features: (1) the village is only 5-6 miles (15 minutes by bus) outside of Nuku'alofa. A number of persons work in

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## Summary

This chapter has presented the background information essential for understanding the national context of local-level processes. It is clear from the materials presented in this chapter that there is considerable diversity among Tongan villages relating to the basic facts of the distribution of the population. It is therefore worth emphasizing that there is a good deal of population movement in Tonga, as we have seen in this chapter and will have reason to note in the chapters that follow, and this tends to mitigate the differentiating effects of the differences in village size and location.

571 The organization of communication in Tonga can be understood in the following way: viewed from the top, communication is usually formal, systemic, and impersonal; viewed from the bottom, it is informal, reticulated, and personal. Formal communications are vertical, except at the very top, while informal channels of communication are both horizontal and vertical (see Figure 12).

571 182 Consideration of the system of informal communication leads to the conclusion that it is an important means of national integration. Not only does it facilitate two-way communication and consultation between the national level and the local level, but it also provides the means of linking local units with one another. Villages and islands --considered as units in themselves--are not connected with one another except through their connection with the central authorities, but--as we have noted earlier in this chapter --the various local units (households, congregations, famili, and kautaha) are locally integrated through over-

571 182 612 lapping and cross-cutting memberships. These local groups, in turn, are connected by a finely-knit web of communication through kainga relationships, and these relationships transcend village and island boundaries. Thus, in this limited sense, the nation is the kinship system writ large.[10]

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602 [10] Note that it is only with regard to this limited aspect of the system of communication that it can be said

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 246]

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FIGURE 12

The Structure of Communication among Institutional Units in Tongan Society

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794
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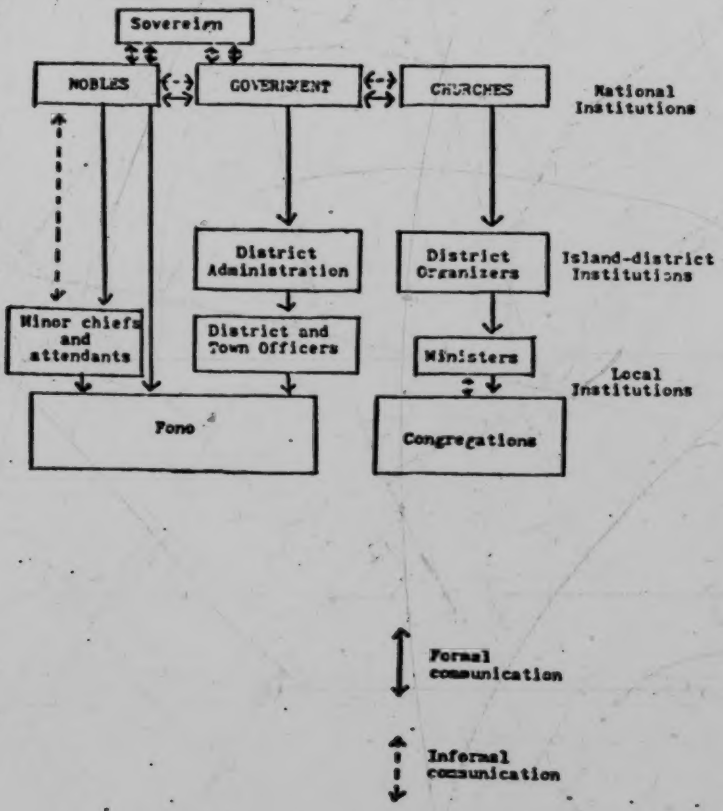

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527 While ordinary Tongans are regularly involved on an individual and small-group basis with people from beyond their own village, there are few situations in which they have the opportunity to express their identity as Tongans in common with thousands of other Tongans. From time to time, however, the nation is activated by events known as kātoanga ('public celebration or festivity'). Thousands of people are involved in these events, both in preparations and in direct participation in gigantic feasts, traditional dancing and other public entertainments, and ceremonial and spectacular activities of other kinds.

527 648 One kātoanga took place during the period of my fieldwork, on the occasion of the visit of the Queen of England in March 1970. Although the Royal Visit lasted for only one day, in Motulahi it was preceded by about seven weeks of preparation and upheaval, and similar activities went on throughout Tongatapu. Furthermore, while the kātoanga took place only on Tongatapu, not only [484] the people of that island were involved. Contributions were levied in all parts of Tonga, in the same way that the villagers of Motulahi had been informed what their contributions were to be, and thousands of people made the trip

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[671] [182] [612] [602] that the nation is the kinship system writ large. I would certainly not equate the political system of Tonga with the kinship system.

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
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175 extract from the diary of an early missionary in Tonga:

527 651 The great ceremony of [ 'Inasi ], one of the greatest festivals in Tonga, ceased today. . . . That part of the island where we live is called the [ Mu'a ], or metropolis of Tonga; and to this place the chiefs of Vavaou and the Hapais bring their [ 'inasi ], towards the end of the last moon the fleet of canoes and crowds of people by land rendering the [ Mu'a ] a moving scene of universal bustle and stir. The ceremony lasts nine days. Every day has its special transaction (Lawry Diary, October 21, 1822; quoted in Urbanowicz 1972: 83).

Similarly, Captain Cook, who was anchored off Mu'a at the time of the 'Inasi in 1777, reported witnessing a gathering of about 10,000 people.

527 182 In my view, these festivities--both ancient and modern--are a significant means of national integration. Besides their effect of bringing ordinary people together for the renewal of kinship ties and other relationships, they provide an occasion for re-affirming and re-inforcing a sense of national unity and Tongan identity. This is particularly important in view of the fact that the population is widely spread out over many islands, not to mention the fact that national-level institutions, for the most part, are remote from the majority of people.

While the integrative functions of national events such as kātoanga and other ceremonial features of Tongan society are of considerable importance, it should be noted that these events involve a significant drain on government and individual resources, both materially and in terms of time and effort. Detailed consideration of these costs

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527 and benefits, however, is beyond the scope of a study of
182 local organization. This and other elements touched on in this chapter--such as the operation of personal networks of communication and assistance throughout Tonga and beyond the Tonga Islands, the relationship between private and institutional connections among persons of high rank within the national-level authorities, assessment of the extent of social mobility beyond the horizontal mobility seen at the local level--are essential elements of a political study that would place the local data presented in this dissertation in national perspective. Such a study remains to be done.

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121 1. Given the absence of over-arching organization at the local level, how are the various local groupings in Tongan society articulated with one another?

This question is taken up in part in Chapter VI, 621 575 181 121 182 where we see that the local groupings described in earlier chapters are not formally related to one another, nor is there any structural unit co-ordinating their activities, either at the local level or the national level. Viewed in terms of a collectivity-oriented conception of social structure, local organization in Tonga would seem to lack integration. However, materials presented in the dissertation indicate that the activities of the various local groups are articulated with one another by the highly reticulated cross-cutting relationships of their members; persons engaged with one another in one set of activities are associated with others in different sets of activities and the composition of these groupings is changeable. The organization of these relationships within the framework of households, fāmili, congregations, and other groupings found at the local level is described in Chapters IV and V. 121 As argued in analyzing these materials, the data relating to these groupings resist analysis in terms of role-behavior and group-membership. One solution might be available in network analysis, much of the development of which stems from similar methodological difficulties with

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urban data (Mitchell 1969, Whitten and Wolfe 1973). However, a network approach is narrowly structural in its focus on individuals and on the patterning of linkages formed by their associations as they engage in various activities. Within that frame of analysis, the organiza- of the activities themselves is peripheral, leaving systemic aspects of these activities unexamined. Rather than use a network approach, in organizing the data from Motulahi I have tried to show how a person's behavior within one sphere of activity shapes and is shaped by the alternatives available in other spheres. Thus we see that the kind of domestic group that a Tongan villager sets up or joins is partially a function of his kin-group affiliations, and that this in turn affects the range of alternatives available to him in other activities. It is through the relation of these activity systems that the various groups found at the local level are articulated with one another and with other groupings in Tongan society.

2. What is the explanation for the diversity found in the various forms of social groupings at the local level?

In examining the diversity of social groupings in Tongan society, I have focused on the diversity of options that people have in choosing memberships and affiliations. These data exemplify the variability of Tongan society at the local level. In considering them, we can distinguish

121 between diversity in the sense of multiplicity--i.e, the number of different groupings of the same kind--and diversity in the sense of structural differences among groupings of the same kind. Thus, in speaking of the diversity of household composition, I am referring to differences in the structure of household groups, not to the number of households found in Tongan villages. On the other hand, "denominational diversity" refers to the number of different denominations likely to be represented in each village, not to structural differences among congregations (although, to be sure, there are such [181] differences). Both kinds of diversity reflect the "loose [182] structure" of Tongan society. In Tonga we find, for [794] example, that what matters in regard to religious [771] affiliation is that a person should have some denominational affiliation, which denomination he belongs to is [554] less important. Similarly, a villager achieves status through participating in ceremonial activities, but there is a wide range of alternative channels for mobilizing material and social resources to enable this participation. [592] Tongans' households are functionally similar to one another, [612] but there are no prescriptions regarding structure; fāmili [575] groupings and kautaha groupings are even less formally 121 delimited. This diversity of social groupings is possible 181 182 because a wide range of variation is tolerated in Tonga 571

and there are few prescriptions or directives from above regarding memberships and affiliations. People can therefore make the adaptations that best suit their particular circumstances. Because people's particular circumstances are not the same, their adaptations are different, and thus we find structural differences among groupings of the same kind, such as differences in household composition. Similarly, the multiplicity of groupings (denominational multiplicity and the variety of voluntary associations) results from Tongans' welcoming new possibilities for making adaptations. The specific adaptations a person makes are affected by such factors as access to land, the person's rank, the people with whom he is associated, and the particular stratagems available to him. Thus, the diversity of social groupings at the local level, which at first may appear to be without pattern or explanation, is intelligible when subjected to a close examination of the diversity of circumstances in which people find themselves.

3. What is the explanation for the changeability of villagers' memberships and affiliations?

Changes in memberships and affiliations are adaptations that individuals make to different circumstances. As villagers' circumstances change, they change their adaptations. Thus we see that, as children come of school age, parents seek to move the family to where the better

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schools are located; at marriage, a woman is likely to switch to her husband's denomination; and when affiliation with a different fāmili affords the opportunity of access to needed resources, there may be a change in fāmili membership. That these changes are possible is further indication of the looseness of structure found at the local level of Tongan society.

4. Why is there variation in the statistical distribution of social groupings from one village to the next?

Variation in the statistical distribution of social groupings from one village to the next is merely a secondary manifestation of the variability of Tongan social organization at the local level. Certain features of a village--such as its location, amount of available land, whether it is a noble's estate and whether the noble is resident--may be significant circumstances affecting the adaptations of those who are associated with the village. However, as we saw in Chapter VI, the village as such is not a significant social unit. My argument has been that the distribution of people's memberships and affiliations reflects the diversity of their adaptations. Thus, the distribution of social groupings from one village to the next is nothing more than a reflection of the particular distribution of the adaptations of its members; variation from one village to the next is epiphenomenal.

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Motulahi



## 'Loose Structure' in Ethnological Perspective

I have argued in this dissertation that the diversity and changeability of elements of local organization in Tonga is not random but rather is explicable when considered in relation to the diverse and changing circumstances in which Tongan villagers find themselves and the looseness of prescriptions for behavior in Tongan society. In this final section of the dissertation I wish to consider the concept of loose structure in broader perspective, not limited to the Tonga data.

Some critics of the concept of loose structure have rejected it on the grounds that recourse to explanation in terms of loose structure is tantamount to saying that there is no structure to the society or that the structure, such as it is, lacks stability or regularity. Thus, Potter writes that "many influential writers on Thailand have portrayed rural Thai society to the outside world as one strangely devoid of structure or form" (1976: 11). He challenges this "picture of Thailand as a society with a vague, shifting, unstable structure" (p. 7), and argues that the

> cumulative effect [of recent studies of rural Thai communities] shatters once and for all the loose-structure paradigm. . . . A reexamination of [earlier studies] reveals . . . basic structural elements found in all Thai villages to which, because of the loose-structure paradigm, these writers did not give sufficient weight (1976: 148).

and it is this point that helps to distinguish the *famili* from the sept, or sibling descent grouping. This does not mean that a person will *say* that he is a member of one *famili* and not a member of another, but he and his household will tend to participate in the activities of one *famili* rather than another and thereby put emphasis on their connection with that *famili*, leaving their connection with the other/s dormant.[34] This occurs, obviously enough, when there has been a shift of residence from one village to another but it is both less obvious and more striking (to the anthropologist) when a household shifts its affiliation within the same village. Thus, in order to understand the *famili* system and the range and kinds of kin-based obligations that a person is involved in in the domestic sphere, there is little point in asking informants how many *famili* there are in the village, or who is the head of their *famili*, or even which *famili* they belong to. To study *famili* organisation one must go about at feasts counting heads and pigs and yams and ask who brought the pigs and who is cooking the yams, for not only is *famili* membership not fixed from the individual's point of view, but *famili*s themselves are changing entities.

## COMPARISON OF HA'A AND FAMILI

The structure of the *famili* system is most different from that of the *ha'a* in the formation of new *famili*, especially when they are formed by the segmentation of an existing group within the village. A *famili* will begin to split up when the group as a whole becomes too large, or if one segment becomes markedly wealthier than another, or if for some other reason the burden of obligation becomes too heavy or unevenly distributed. Gradually, over a period of two or three or even more years, the descent group will become segmented through emphasis on ties within one section at the expense of ties to the rest. By the time the process is completed, there are separate *famili* for purposes of the formal and informal obligations of *famili* membership, although the members of the original *famili* will continue to act as *kainga* to one another on occasions such as weddings and funerals. In contrast to this, in the *ha'a* system, the unity of the *ha'a* is maintained despite segmentation and the creation of new titles and descent lines, for there is necessarily a continued emphasis on tracing the connection to the originating ancestors who provide the link with the descent line of the sacred kings of Tonga.

Despite the basic structural difference that has just been described between *ha'a* and *famili*, it should be evident that there are a number of important points of similarity between them. Possibly the most striking of these is the optative and variable nature of membership. A person will be a member of the group within which and through which he can best secure his own advantage and, if necessary, he will switch membership to do so. Such a situation might arise if a member of a *ha'a* became eligible for a title in a different *ha'a*, or if a member of a *famili* required the long-

34. Such manipulations of membership are clearly a strategy adaptive to flux. This type of organisation, therefore, is more likely to be prevalent in villages affected by migration and urbanisation and less likely to be found in rural communities outside Tongatapu.

59: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9



all levels. The concept of rank is, perhaps, the main factor in holding the society together at its higher levels. That the family system need not have the organization it has is apparent, and does not make for the most economic running of a household. The family system is understandable, however, if one looks at it as a medium for inculcating values that are necessary for the operation of the higher levels of society.

All Tongans are socialized into *kāinga* status and operate by principles on which this status is based. The differentiation of high and low in the *kāinga* is easily extended from the family to the chief-commoner division of the society, the same terms *'eiki* and *tu'a* being used in both systems. Only a few Tongans are socialized into the *ha'a* ranking system of the societal structure, understand its workings, and know how to manipulate it. Although everyone operates within this larger society, they do not participate in the power-play of the *ha'a* heads. Indeed, according to Aoyagi, many do not even know that *ha'a* exist. This raises the question of how people can operate by rules which they do not know. One is led to conclude that though they do not know about *ha'a* ranking, they do know about *kāinga* inheritance, which uses the same principles of rank by genealogical seniority, usually within the patrilineal line. One operates in various dimensions of the society using the same principles. There is no inherent contradiction because the principles enculturated in the *kāinga* carry over almost imperceptibly into the societal system. Authority based on status acknowledged within the *kāinga* is a potent factor in the successful functioning of the more loosely organized structure at the societal level, where kin ties do not hold the systems together.

*Kāinga* status is a reflection of, but not a subdivision of, the societal system. Perhaps for a few generations at the beginning of the Tu'i Tonga dynasty, the society could be subdivided into smaller and smaller divisions ending with individual families. But any attempt to do this today would take us into the realm of fiction. Generations of Polynesian political manipulation have evolved a complex stratified society whose higher levels hold together because of values learned at the *kāinga* level. Authority and decision making are vested in the genealogically senior male, and ceremonial recognition is given to his sister and her children. In the same way authority and decision making at the societal level are vested in chiefs. To these *ha'a* heads individuals owe their allegiance either because they are related or because they live on their land. A man gives to the chief the same kind of obedience and deference that he expects from his *kāinga*. The chiefs in turn pay similar obeisance to the King.

Perhaps it is not premature to predict that, when change comes to the societal level, it will be because the family has changed first and no longer inculcates the authority structure which is not needed at the family level, but is almost certain death to the system if it does not exist at the societal level. Signs of such change are already manifest in Tonga, especially in the families of educated commoners who feel that authority should be delegated to those who have ability rather than to those of high birth. The children of these people are highly achievement motivated and are not likely to be

197 'peculiar way of speaking.' The language of Niuafo'ou, although it is Tongan, has a dialect status which shows grammatical relationships with Samoan. Unfortunately for the world of anthropological linguistics this dialect has never been fully studied and it is in danger of dying out, for the younger generation speaks the main dialect of Tongan and 535 only the remaining old people speak the Niuafo'ou dialect. The tau 178 faka-Niua is a dance local to Niuafo'ou, and it too is in danger of being forgotten.

133 This chain of volcanic islands is relatively unimportant to Tonga 182 today, but it is these very islands that are important for an understanding of the ecology which supports the Tongan social system. The main inhabited islands of the Tongan group are coral islands, which in most Pacific areas would be associated with lack of fertile soil and [134] often a subsistence level economy. In Tonga, however, the flat coral islands have reaped the harvest of the close volcanic islands and the resulting deep, rich volcanic soil has made it possible to develop an economy of surplus to maintain Tonga's highly stratified social system. [162] The population concentration is mainly on these low-lying islands to the 134 east of the volcanic chain. The largest of this group of limestone 133 islands, Tongatapu, is less than 270 feet high, but in many places has 241 a soil depth of ten feet. The soil is excellent and a very large proportion of the islands are intensely cultivated. The main food plants are yam, taro, sweet potato, banana, sugar cane, manioc, [262] coconut, and breadfruit. In addition, fruit of the mango, orange,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 16 ]

61: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9



535 Lakalaka are performed on all formal government katoanga,
541 'celebrations,' unless dance is tapu because of death or mourning. In fact, performance of lakalaka is one of the main parts of a government katoanga, and perhaps can be thought of as taking the place of speeches that would be appropriate on a formal occasion. New lakalaka are composed several months before any large scale government function and practiced every night (except Sunday) in the village often for two or three months. The last large-scale government katoanga was in 1962 which celebrated 100 years of freedom under the Tu'i Kanokupolu dynasty of Kings. During this katoanga there were two full days of lakalaka in Tongatapu, there was one day of lakalaka in the Ha'apai group of islands and two days of lakalaka in the Vava'u group of islands.

535 Lakalaka is the most important living dance genre in Tonga. Its structure, although 'created' in historic times, is similar to ancient genres such as ma'etu'upaki. The main foot movement, M.H.a.l., is the same as that in the recurring $t^1$ phrase of ula. The majority of the hand movements are the same ones used in ula and fa'ahiula.

535 Through lakalaka the Tongans show their allegiance to the King and
182 reinforce the socio-political system that is based on a hierarchical
554 ranking of persons. The structure of the dance space reinforces this
[641] ranking, as the placement of dancers is according to social status
535 (see Chapter II). In addition, there is a reinforcement of values,
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535 such as the appropriate rolls of men and women as reflected in the
182 character of their movements.
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MA'ULU'ULU

535 Ma'ulu'ulu is a dance that may be presented on formal and on semi-formal occasions. It can take the place of a lakalaka when one or more of several criteria are present:

1) all men or all women will be the performers,
2) performers are too young or too old for lakalaka,
3) performers are too few or too many for lakalaka,
4) when a ma'ulu'ulu tulotu haka, 'choreographer,' is available,
5) a group prefers to do a ma'ulu'ulu rather than lakalaka,
6) if they are requested to do ma'ulu'ulu (by the Queen for example).

[541] Although a ma'ulu'ulu may replace an individual lakalaka in a katoanga, the whole dance program of a katoanga would not consist entirely of performances of ma'ulu'ulu (whereas it could consist of of lakalaka only). This may be one reason why ma'ulu'ulu is recognized [177] as a semi-formal dance. Other reasons are that ma'ulu'ulu is incom- [643] plete because it may have only one sex, and it is said to have diffused from Samoa, while the origin of lakalaka is historically associated with the ruling line of Tongan Kings.

Ma'ulu'ulu differ from lakalaka in several ways, the most obvious observed difference, and the immediately verbalized one, is that ma'ulu-'ulu is a sitting dance and lakalaka is a standing dance. Though in

64: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1976 OU9 Tonga OU9



that particular occasion. There is no set pattern of *kava* distribution when the King is not there. The only theoretical generalization that one can make for all non-*Taumafa kava* drinking sessions is that "the *kava* is distributed according to the agreed upon rank of those individuals present." This admittedly low-level generalization is true whether we term all non-*Taumafa kava* sessions either *'ilo kava* ceremonies or *fai-kava* sessions.

For particular non-*Taumafa kava* sessions when individuals cannot agree in advance upon their relative rank *vis-à-vis* one another, they then avoid one another at certain *kava* sessions. For early-contacted Tonga this behavior is quite clear from the account of the French navigator Dumont D'Urville in Tonga 1827. He wrote about the rarity of certain *kava* sessions because of the lack of certain major individuals and:

> above all because of the claims of Palou [also known as Fatukimotulalo, an important and powerful and non-titled individual] and Tahofa [also known as Fae], who took care to avoid any [*kava*] gatherings where they could not occupy the highest place (MS:140).

In contemporary Tonga, elaborate genealogies (both real and fictive) are often traced out for seating positions in non-*Taumafa kava* sessions. Some changes have taken place in all *kava* sessions since the advent of Europeans and, briefly stated, in aboriginal Tongan society the "rank" for a *kava* circle was determined on the basis of the personal rank of the individual whereas in contemporary Tongan society it is the rank of the "title" which an individual has which is the determining factor in seating (and drinking) arrangements.[3]

What is important for all *kava* drinking in Tonga is [1] that it occurs today and [2] the basic structural features (bowl, circle, and relative order of serving) have remained essentially stable over the years. The non-*Taumafa kava* sessions serve as a "safety valve" for Tongan society and provide a frequent chance to discuss the latest gossip, rumors, or general conversation. The Beagleholes pointed out in their 1941 work that the topics of conversation in an informal *kava* session frequently deal with:

> the state of cultivation, the gossip and scandal of the village, the strange ways of white people, news and rumour from other villages far and near, actions of government representatives from policemen to high officials, chance remarks from passing acquaintances on the island roads, religious doctrine and dogma, dreams and strange events all [of] these and many other topics are considered from every possible angle and point of view (1941:20).

In brief, an informal and small-sized *kava* session is not an extremely spectacular event, much like the drinking in a tavern or bar among good friends. The *Taumafa kava*, on the other hand, provides Tongans with a particular focal point for their own identity and is discussed below.

64: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1976 OU9 Tonga OU9



The *Taumafa kava* ceremony helps to maintain Tongan culture to this day. With increasing change, Tongans are maintaining their cultural identity by means of [1] increased informal *kava* consumption and [2] creation of the "agricultural shows" with the accompanying formal *Taumafa kava* ceremony.

[543]

## Conclusions

The question was raised "why the persistence of *kava* drinking over the years and the apparent increase and interest in *kava* consumption since alcoholic beverages are readily available?" The interpretations presented in this paper stress that [1] *kava* drinking of all types has been the way in which Tongans have maintained their cultural identity over the years; [2] *kava* drinking has provided and continues to provide an important "safety valve" feature which allows for informal discussion of contemporary problems; [3] *kava* drinking provides a necessary "seal of approval" on virtually all important Tongan events, from birth to death in the life cycle; and [4] *kava* drinking is decidedly "Tongan" as opposed to the *kava-palangi* of non-Tongans. Tongans prefer to identify with Tongans rather than identify with non-Tongans.

There are two types of *kava* drinking in Tonga: those occasions on which the reigning Monarch is absent and those occasions on which the Monarch is present. The presence of the reigning Monarch constitutes a *Taumafa kava* and it is the only occasion when one can predict with any certainty as to the serving order of the *kava*. The precedence of serving for all non-*Taumafa kava* sessions (whether termed *fai-kava* or *'ilo kava*) depend on the occasion and those present.

As Tongans continue to undergo rapid change in the latter third of the twentieth century, one can predict a continued increase in *kava* consumption since *kava* drinking is the focal point for the maintenance and perpetuation of Tongan unity and identity. One observes this increase in the activities concerning the yearly agricultural shows.

[543]

A *kava* drinking session is a model of Tongan society and the scale of the model merely shifts as on goes from the various non-*Taumafa kava* sessions to the *Taumafa kava* ceremony. Increasing *kava* consumption patterns are a reflection of a greater (and growing) awareness of what it means to be a Tongan in the twentieth century. Paraphrasing Oliver, Tongans appear Western but have remained Tongan (1962:179), or as Inder stated concerning the dual features of His Majesty's 1967 coronation, "Thus, in the end, Tongan and Western influences shared the billing, as usual, the Tongan way the more dominant" (1967:47). When the ratio between *kava* consumption patterns and alcoholic consumption patterns shifts towards a preponderance of alcohol consumption, Tonga will indeed have some problems for

65: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9



in numerous respects, are not superior to reputable eye-witness descriptions of aboriginal Tonga.[1]

## CONTACT AND DESCRIPTIONS

Part of the Tongan archipelago was first contacted by the Dutch navigators Schouten and Le Maire in 1616, and various contacts with Europeans followed: 1643 (Tasman), 1767 (Wallis), 1773, 1774, and 1777 (Cook), 1781 (Maurelle), 1787 (La Perouse), 1789 (Bligh), 1793 (D'Entrecasteaux and Labillardière), and 1793 (Malaspina) (see Colson 1885; Tudor 1968: 125–127). These contacts between Europeans and Tongans lasted for periods of a few days to several weeks. The accounts of these men made Europeans aware of Tonga and placed Tonga on Europe's map. The accounts spurred Europeans to send men to proselytize the peoples of the Pacific. Tonga, along with Tahiti, was one of the first island groups to be sent European missionaries in the late eighteenth century.

The first missionaries were of the Missionary Society of London (form-

[1] Tonga, named by Captain James Cook "The Friendly Islands," is composed of some 150 to 200 islands and islets with perhaps only 25 percent of those being inhabited. The islands are a form of raised limestone, or volcanic formations and limestone formations (Anonymous 1944: 16). The most recent work indicates that the total land area of the archipelago is 256.42 square miles, with the Tongatapu Group (the main island of Tongatapu with surrounding small islands but excluding the island of 'Eua) having 100.37 square miles of that total or some 39.1 percent (Maude 1965: 218). Tongatapu Island is approximately 99 square miles in area. The estimated population for the entire archipelago for December 31, 1970 was 86,055 (Tapa 1971: 4).

The territorial boundaries of the Kingdom of Tonga were proclaimed by King George Tupou I to be 15°S and 23°S and 173°W and 177°W (*Tonga Government Gazette*, 2: 55, August 24, 1887). The islands of the Kingdom thus fall within a rectangle of the South Pacific some 596 miles North-South by 264 miles East-West, with the outer islands of the Kingdom being Niua Fo'ou Island to the North at 15°34'S and 175°40'W, and 'Ata Island to the South at 22°20'S and 176°12'W. 'Ata Island is approximately 100 miles southeast of the main island of Tongatapu and Niua Fo'ou Island is approximately 232 miles northwest of the Vava'u group of Islands.

Tonga derived its name from the principal island of the group, Tongatapu Island or 'sacred' Tonga. The *tapu* was probably appended to the Tonga because this island became the residence of the leaders of the archipelago. Tongatapu Island was the focal point for the political and religious system in the archipelago prior to and after European contact. The Polynesians who settled the archipelago appear to have chosen this relatively flat island because of terrain and climate. The middle, or Ha'apai group of islands are a series of low islets. The northernmost island group of Vava'u has relatively high hills, with most of the land being at least one hundred feet above sea level (as opposed to Tongatapu Island which is no higher than two hundred feet along the southern or *liku* coast). Vava'u was, and is, subject to more destructive hurricanes than Tongatapu during the hurricane season and it was only on Tongatapu that relative permanency of Tongan culture and continuity of leadership could be maintained for generations.

423 to the use of land. For every two householders with 'api tukuhau there was a further householder who was sharing land with a relation. The situation with regards to 'api kolo demonstrated the social significance of land still further—a third of the householders were sharing the 'api of relations.

369 [434] [433] Just as no village family could rely entirely on subsistence agriculture, few families in the town could rely entirely on wages. The town's economy, like the traditional peasant economy outlined by Franklin,[18] is labour and not capital intensive, kin relations serve a socio-economic role and there is a close attachment to the land. It 592 [434] would be erroneous to talk of per capita income in Tonga; the important consideration is family income. Although not entirely controlled by the head of the household as chef d'entreprise, the broad direction of spendings earned by members of a family is the concern of all the family, especially so in times of crisis or investment in [514] education. And the families, though nuclear by residence, are [515] extended in terms of mutual recognition of services and obligations.[19]

183 602 369 It would not be fakatonga, the right behaviour in terms of respect within Tongan society, to deny a relation access to land, residence, employment or a share in family success. If these are characteristics of a peasantry, one can only say that they are common to all of Tonga, rural and urban. Town dwellers are inescapably 369 361 bound up with the land. They own it as much as villagers, they rely 434 on it to supplement wages kept low on the assumption of an additional 423 income from agriculture, they value it as a means of fulfilling family obligations and as a measure of their social importance and they depend on it for food. There would be few established household heads, even the most wealthy and the most "urbanised", who do not have a son or relation on their land or on land acquired through their 592 influence. It is the function of a successful household head to find employment for as many of his family as possible. The labour commitment is total and the basic unit of economic organisation is the family, controlled and directed at least to some extent by the 592 household head.[20] A typical family would endeavour to have some 434 member in paid employment, some on the land and some in the "bazaar" sector of the town's economy—a small grocery shop, in the making of [182] handicrafts and other side-line businesses. This diversity in family employment provides material security in an economy which offers insufficient full wage employment; it also indicates the economic obligations borne by the chef d'entreprise towards his kin.

556 437 [369] [465] It should be clear that everyone in Tonga is to some extent involved in a money economy, the town dweller somewhat more than the villager but this has not yet led to any noticeable individualisation. There is little evidence of individuals trying to opt out of reciprocal

they are to its retention. The less well-off may retain traditional values and activities because they act as socio-economic securities; the better-off because they enhance their socio-political status (see Table VI).

Attitudes to misdemeanours and crimes such as illegitimacy, prostitution, the fakafefine and prisoners are much the same among the upper levels of urban society as they are among the rural peasants. Crimes are often considered irritating or amusing. A thief who avoids detection is "cunning", one who is caught is "stupid"; an unmarried mother is "silly"; working groups of prisoners stop to talk to friends in the street and are readily accepted back into the community upon their release. A different view, however, is taken when one breaks social tapu concerning kin and rank. Any lapse in the social graces is viewed most seriously. The people of Nuku'alofa, to adapt Frank's analogy, operate within a chain of constellations and satellites based on kin and rank and within this chain social and economic functions are barely separable. The people are more money conscious than they were, they are subjected to the influences of tourism and the pressures of population growth, but to date there are few signs that these changes have caused a corresponding change in attitudes towards kin, an essential concept of peasant and traditional societies.

With empirical studies of Pacific towns still in their infancy, there seems little point in fixing a label to the features we have described in Nuku'alofa. A too ready use of such terms as "agro town", "pseudo-urbanisation" or "subsistence urbanisation" will not help to untangle the webs of society. Certain sectors of the town are predominantly peasant; others are at least partly proletarian or bourgeois, and the two sectors are inextricably interwoven. Clearly peasant systems and peasant attitudes are not purely a rural phenomenon. They can exist among migrants to towns, in the bazaar and tertiary sectors and the traditional attitudes which stem from rural socio-economic roots can be found at all levels of town society. In the long run the social and cultural attitudes of classes within a society usually reflect their economic interests. What is not clear in Nuku'alofa is whether classes, in the usual sense of the word, yet exist. In the short run Tonga and other underdeveloped countries are "all at different stages of development, or underdevelopment, as a result of their varying historical experiences of capitalism, their indigenous socio-economic structures, and the interaction of the one on the other."[28] There is nothing inevitable about the end result. The theoretical model of transition from peasant to proletariat is not predictive and for Nuku'alofa radical changes seem a long way off. At present there is considerable evidence that the so-called rural element is increasing. Labour is not becoming more specialised, the

67: Maude K-5 (1961) 1973 OU9 Tonga OU9

# 7 Land shortage and population pressure in Tonga

Alaric Maude

The problems of land shortage and population pressure in small islands with only limited resources have been recurrent themes in recent geographical research in the Pacific islands, particularly in island Polynesia where populations are now generally increasing at rates of between 3 and 3·5 per cent annually. This essay is concerned with the chain of islands in western Polynesia which form the Kingdom of Tonga (Fig. 7.1). The 150 islands of the Kingdom, comprising the three main groups of Tongatapu, Ha'apai and Vava'u, and a number of outlying islands, have a total land area of only 663km² and support a population of about 87,000 (1970 estimate). The Kingdom's only natural resources are the soil and the surrounding reefs and seas, and the economy is overwhelmingly agricultural, being based largely on subsistence food cropping and the export of bananas, copra and desiccated coconut. With a limited area of land, a population density in 1970 of about 185/km² of arable land, and a projected annual population growth rate of 3·1 per cent, Tonga faces potential problems of land shortage and population pressure as severe as in any other nation or territory in the Pacific Islands, with the exception of some of the atoll groups.

The focus of this essay is on man/land relationships, for with an essentially agricultural economy these are central to Tonga's population problem. The main objective is a search for, and examination of, possible symptoms of population pressure within the man/environment system. Particular attention is paid to land tenure, which determines how land is allocated amongst the population; the agricultural system, agriculture being by far the most important use of land; and the perception of, and reponse to, population pressure by Tongans. At a more theoretical level, the final part of the essay

67: Maude K-5 (1961) 1973 OU9 Tonga OU9



423 427 178 241 423 245 427 villager finds land borrowing for cash production an increasing problem. Land cannot be borrowed for planting coconuts, which rank about equal with bananas as a cash crop, and palms on an allotment are the property of the landholder, regardless of who planted them. A common practice for those without land is to obtain permission to collect one or two cartloads of coconuts for copra-making from the allotment of a relative or close friend, and for this no return is given. Another arrangement found, especially between non-relatives and where the landholder is absent, is for the cash received for the copra to be shared half-and-half.

423 511 592 The effect of landholding on cash-crop incomes is shown in Table 7.3, which presents data from the household survey of four Tongatapu villages mentioned in an earlier section. The inability of the social system and its customary obligations to even out inequalities in landholding is shown in the fact that households without land had only half the income per capita or per adult male of households with a full-sized allotment. On the other hand households with two allotments did not have higher incomes per head than single-allotment households, for although total income was higher these households were larger and had more adult males.*

423 182 178 241 The main conclusion that can be drawn from this discussion is that the present land-tenure system, although it cannot provide land for every household, is still able to cope with the subsistence needs of the people, but is less able to cope with the rising demand for land for cash cropping. The increasing difficulty of borrowing land for growing cash crops and the trend towards the payment of rentals for land both point to pressure within the system. This pressure, however, is as much the result of the growing commercialization of Tongan agriculture as of population increase alone.

## THE AGRICULTURAL SYSTEM

241 Tongan agriculture is based on a bush fallowing system† for the cultivation of tubers, the main food crops being yams, taro, cassava, sweet potato, bananas and plantains. After clearing and burning, a plot is cropped for two to about five years and then bush fallowed for

[128]

* The number of households in the survey with allotments smaller than 2·7 ha was too few for useful analysis.

† The term 'bush fallowing' is here used to describe a form of shifting cultivation in which the fallow period is short.

67: Maude K-5 (1961) 1973 OU9 Tonga OU9



from one to ten or more years, depending on population density. Of the two main cash crops bananas are often incorporated into this bush fallow system, being planted as part of the cropping sequence and yielding for only a couple of years before the land returns to bush; but during the last few years they have increasingly been grown in separate plantations, and chemical fertilizers are now being used both to improve yields and to extend the life of the plot. The other main cash crop, coconuts, is unevenly scattered over all or part of each allotment, with the food-crop gardens being rotated amongst them. The effect of population density on this system will be examined from two perspectives, the ecological and the economic.

*An ecological assessment*

In Ha'apai, where the agricultural system is under the greatest pressure from high population density, the cropping period is now usually from three to five years, compared with the two or three years common elsewhere, while the fallow period is generally from only one to three or four years compared with three to five years elsewhere. Many farmers in Ha'apai are using shorter fallows than when they began farming, a common change reported amongst older men being a reduction to half the earlier fallow length. The food-crop pattern has also changed with the increase in population density. In areas of high density, cassava has become the staple food crop while yams, the most preferred tuber for eating, are now much less frequently grown. Cassava gives good yields even on heavily-cropped soils and does not require a lengthy fallow, and also yields more per man-hour of labour than the other food crops.

The response of Tongan farmers to population growth has therefore been to reduce fallow periods, lengthen cropping periods and alter the food-crop pattern, and these changes are most pronounced in Ha'apai. There the agricultural system is now fairly intensive by the standards of shifting cultivation, with a cropping period/fallow period ratio of around 1 : 1, and supports population densities of up to about 280/km$^2$ (cf. Nye and Greenland, 1960, 128). Yet despite the probable doubling in the intensity of cropping over the last 30 to 40 years there has been no change in the bush fallow technique of maintaining soil fertility, and one might therefore expect to find symptoms of ecological stress within the system.

An examination of possible areas of stress, however, suggests the existence of as yet only minor problems. There has been some

67: Maude K-5 (1961) 1973 OU9 Tonga OU9



deterioration in the fallow vegetation, with an increase in the proportion of grasses and other herbaceous plants and the spread of lantana (*Lantana camara*) and guava (*Psidium guajava*), and weeds have become much more of a problem for farmers than in the past. It is also widely believed that soil fertility in Ha'apai has declined over the last few decades. This belief is partially supported by the results of chemical analyses of Tongan soils. Ha'apai soils should be very similar in composition to those of Tongatapu, as parent materials, relief and climate are much the same throughout the two groups, but analysis of a number of soil samples suggests that they have much lower levels of available potassium. Chemical analysis by itself, however, is not a completely reliable guide, and there have been no yield measurements or fertilizer trials which could provide further evidence on soil differences. The comments of farmers, on the other hand, indicate that there has certainly been no serious decline in soil fertility, for satisfactory yields are still obtained despite the intensity of the agricultural system.*

*An economic assessment*

Assessment of the effect of high population density on the level of living supported by the agricultural system is more difficult, because the level of living is influenced by a large number of variables apart from population density, and data that might be useful in such an assessment are limited. As far as food production is concerned there is no evidence to suggest that people in rural areas of high population density have a diet poorer in quantity or quality than that found elsewhere in Tonga; the worst nutritional problems are in fact in the towns. Production per head appears to have been maintained by the increased frequency of cropping and the change to higher-yield tubers, and any deficiencies which might result from a high consumption of protein-poor cassava are probably balanced by a high consumption of seafoods. Measurement of food gardens in three villages in Ha'apai and Tongatapu showed no relationship between population density and per capita garden area.

Analysis of the *per capita* levels of production of copra and bananas,

* For a fuller discussion see Maude (1970). The only effect of intense cultivation on Tongatapu soils noted by H. S. Gibbs in a paper presented to the 1971 Pacific Science Congress is a possible increase in iron nodules in areas of frequent clean cultivation. Such a change, if present, would tend to lower soil productivity by decreasing the friability of the soil.

67: Maude K-5 (1961) 1973 OU9 Tonga OU9



on the other hand, suggests that cash-crop incomes tend to be lower in areas of high population density than elsewhere. Data for banana production in rural Tongatapu in 1966, for instance, shows that while there was no relationship between population density and *per capita* production when densities were less than 200/km², in the one area of higher population density production per head fell to 55 per cent of the mean, suggesting that at this level of density land becomes a more important limiting factor in production than labour. A similar analysis of *per capita* copra income within Ha'apai in 1956 (Table 7.4) again suggests some inverse relationship between population density and income per head, but the trend shown is not

**Table 7.4** Population density and *per capita* copra income, Ha'apai, 1956 (*Source:* Records of the Tonga Copra Board)

| Persons/km² | Copra income per capita ($A) |
|---|---|
| 80–149 | 58·4 |
| 150–229 | 51·2 |
| 230–309 | 39·6 |
| 310–379 | 45·0 |

uniform and the co-efficient of correlation between the two variables is only −0·36. For Tongatapu this type of analysis is not possible, as the variables determining the level of copra production are not sufficiently uniform throughout the island, but data from the household survey for three villages which are comparable show a clear inverse relationship between *per capita* income and population density (Table 7.5).

**Table 7.5** Population density and *per capita* copra income, three Tongatapu villages. 1961 (*Source:* Records of the Tonga Copra Board)

| Village | Persons/km² | Copra income per capita ($A) |
|---|---|---|
| Niutoua | 70 | 37·4 |
| Ha'akame | 150 | 29·2 |
| Ha'avakatolo | 178 | 22·0 |

67: Maude K-5 (1961) 1973 OU9 Tonga OU9



The above evidence points tentatively to mild symptoms of economic stress in areas of high population density. Land appears to have become a limiting factor in production given the present level of agricultural technology, but at population densities which vary according to the crop; the population density at which *per capita* banana production begins to decline, for instance, is higher than that at which *per capita* copra production is affected, because bananas are a less land-extensive crop. Much more research, including studies of nutrition, is needed before firm conclusions can be drawn.

## POPULATION PRESSURE: PERCEPTION AND RESPONSE

To what extent are the pressures described in the last two sections consciously felt by Tongans living in areas of high population density? An attempt was made during field-work in western Tongatapu, Ha'apai and eastern Vava'u to ascertain the degree to which people felt hardship as a result of the shortage of land, concentrating in particular on married men without allotments as these were likely to suffer the most. We recall that even in densely-settled areas most men without allotments found it fairly easy to borrow land for cash cropping or collecting coconuts for copra-making. Yet only a small proportion of the men interviewed seemed to feel any hardship, all of these being men with large families to support, and most considered their income sufficient for their essential needs. About 30 men were asked what they would do with $A 1,000 if it were given to them; only one replied that he would spend it on food and other necessities, the rest stating housing or education for their children.

However, the degree to which population pressure is felt is better determined by what men do than by what they say. There are a number of possible reactions to population pressure, but only one of these, migration, is really significant in Tonga. In land tenure, for instance, there has as yet been no trend towards subdivision of allotments, even though this is not prohibited should the legal heir to the land be willing, and land disputes are rare. The only response by those in control of land matters, the Government and the chiefs, to the problems brought by population growth has been a belated effort to complete the survey and allocation of allotments. In agriculture there has been a steady intensification of the system and a

67: Maude K-5 (1961) 1973 OU9 Tonga OU9



shift in food crops, but the use of fertilizers, which represents a basic innovation in the system, is largely confined to cash cropping in Tongatapu and has not been adopted by farmers in more intensively cultivated Ha'apai. Very few farmers see any need to change their traditional techniques.

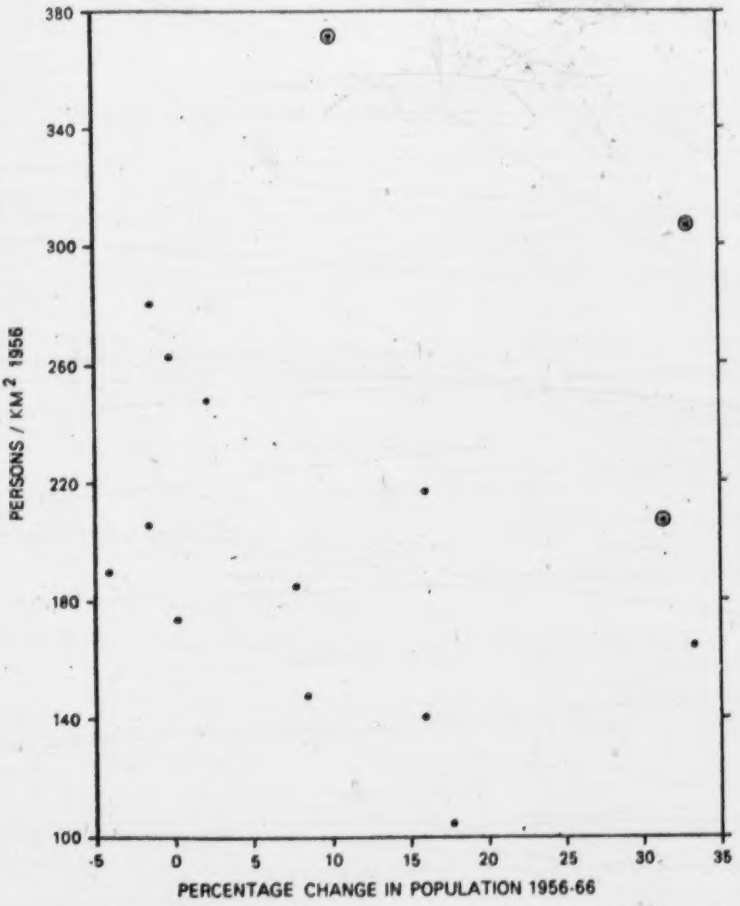


**Fig. 7.2** Tonga: scatter diagram showing the relationship of population growth in 1956–66 to the 1956 population density

67: Maude K-5 (1961) 1973 OU9 Tonga OU9



The pattern of internal migration, however, shows more sensitive response to population pressure, particularly in Ha'apai. The basic reason for migration in Tonga is the lack of opportunities to earn money in the outer islands as compared with Tongatapu, but the influence of land shortage is indicated by the fact that, within Ha'apai, population growth between 1956 and 1966 in each island tended to be inversely proportional to the 1956 population density (Fig. 7.2). The three islands which lie furthest from the general trend (circled in Fig. 7.2) all have residents who utilize land on the nearby high island of Tofua, and their effective population densities are therefore lower than those shown. It may be hypothesized that the higher the population density the harder it is for men, particularly those without their own allotments, to achieve a satisfactory cash-crop income, and in Ha'apai this problem is made greater by the fact that until recently cash cropping was largely restricted to coconuts, while opportunities for wage employment in the group have always been very limited. Of 20 cases of migration collected in Holopeka (Ha'apai), for instance, 18 were men without allotments, and 11 of these had left their village at least partly in the hope of obtaining land. That landlessness is not the only reason for migration, however, is shown in the fact noted earlier that those who had left Ha'afeva (Ha'apai) in 1966 included nearly half the men who already held land on the island. Employment following education on the main island, dissatisfaction with village life, a desire to take advantage of the better opportunities to earn money in Tongatapu or to ensure a better education for one's children are all important reasons for movement, while in Vava'u the damage caused to the economy by the 1961 hurricane seems to have been the major determinant of migration from that group in the early 1960s. Nevertheless, the pattern of migration from Ha'apai outlined earlier does demonstrate the significance of land shortage as a factor, and suggests that population pressure is sufficiently felt by many Tongans to stimulate them to leave their home village.

## CONCLUSION

In the preceding sections we have examined a number of facets of the man/land system in Tonga. Symptoms of stress or pressure were found in land problems, the fallow vegetation, the nutrient status of the soil, cash-crop incomes and internal migration, and these point

67: Maude K-5 (1961) 1973 OU9 Tonga OU9



to the presence of mild population pressure, particularly in Ha'apai. These problems, however, are as much a result of the failure to adapt the man/land system to cope with rising population densities as of population growth alone. Improvements are possible in land tenure, for instance to ensure that land is only allocated to those who can make good use of it, and in agriculture, through the adoption of new techniques in both food and cash cropping; while changes in the market for cash crops and in the availability and location of non-agricultural employment would also produce changes in the degree of population pressure in Tonga.

To what extent can the material discussed in this case study of Tonga be used in an assessment of the ideas of Boserup and Geertz, both of whom have been concerned with the effect of population growth on traditional agricultural systems? Boserup (1965) argues that the intensification of agriculture, because it involves more labour-intensive techniques and a decrease in mean output per man-hour, only occurs when forced by population pressure. Geertz (1963), on the other hand, in his study of Indonesian economic history, draws a distinction between *sawah* agriculture, a stable system in which increases in population can be easily absorbed by intensification without harm to the environment, and shifting cultivation, a potentially unstable system highly susceptible to ecological breakdown if intensified in response to population growth. For Boserup agricultural systems of varying intensity from forest-fallow cultivation to multi-cropping lie along the one continuum, while for Geertz shifting cultivation and *sawah* agriculture are unrelated systems with different responses to population pressure.

Taking Geertz's contribution first, it is evident that while there are some signs of mild pressure in Tongan agriculture there is no indication of an impending ecological crisis, despite the doubling in the intensity of cropping over the last 30 to 40 years, and the Tongan system appears much better able to withstand population growth and intensification than the shifting cultivation model described by Geertz. For this there are several possible explanations. Firstly, there are some differences between the Tongan system and the south-east Asian examples on which Geertz's model is based. In south-east Asia the staple crop is rice, whereas the Tongan system is based on tubers, which may help to maintain soil fertility during cropping by providing a better cover for the soil surface, even though the patterns of inter-cropping and crop succession in Tonga are very simple. In

67: Maude K-5 (1961) 1973 OU9 Tonga OU9



In addition, the agricultural environment in Tonga is much more favourable for intensive cropping than are the environments in which shifting cultivation is carried on in south-east Asia, for the soils, derived from recent volcanic materials and not subject to heavy leaching, are of high inherent fertility. Although no yield measurements have been made, the decline in yields between the first and second cropping of a plot is certainly nowhere near the 80 per cent drop reported by Geertz (1963, 23) from south Sumatra. Geertz's characterization of shifting cultivation applies to only one type amongst many, and to only one environment amongst the many in which this agricultural system is carried on.

Following from this, I feel that Geertz, perhaps because he has confined his examples to south-east Asia, overestimates the fragility of shifting cultivation and the narrowness of the demographic limits within which it is a stable system. Nye and Greenland (1960, 129), for example, demonstrate that it is possible to crop at varying levels of intensity, and consequently of soil fertility, without catastrophic consequences to the soil. Up to a limit, which varies with the type of shifting cultivation and the environment, decreases in yield as a result of an increase in the intensity of cropping may be more than offset by increases in overall production because of the longer period of cropping. This limit has certainly not been reached in Tonga, where the agricultural system has a greater degree of flexibility in response to population growth than Geertz admits for shifting cultivation systems.

On *prima facie* evidence, Ester Boserup's thesis more closely fits the Tongan situation, and her contention that differences in agricultural intensity are the consequence of differences in population density is supported by the material discussed earlier. However, the intensification of Tongan agriculture in response to population growth has not stimulated any basic improvements in the bush fallow technique of maintaining soil fertility except amongst strongly-commercialized farmers. It is important to an assessment of Boserup's thesis that this lack of change be explained; and two types of explanation are possible.

The first involves a consideration of the conditions under which population growth may fail to stimulate technological advance. Boserup does not claim that intensification will always lead to the adoption of new methods, and suggests several situations where failure is possible, some of which could apply to Tonga at present.

67: Maude K-5 (1961) 1973 OU9 Tonga OU9



Firstly, under conditions of rapid population growth the rate at which the intensity of cropping increases may well be higher than the rate at which farmers are able to change their traditional methods and their accustomed habits of work. The examples drawn on by Boserup to support her thesis are of populations undergoing slower rates of growth than have been recently experienced in Tonga, or in many of the developing countries, and this somewhat reduces the value of her thesis under contemporary conditions. However, observation and questioning in Tonga do not suggest the rate of population growth to be a major reason for the failure to adopt new methods of soil fertility maintenance. Secondly, failure is possible where farmers have no knowledge of the techniques which could be adopted. In Tonga the only new technique known to farmers is the use of chemical fertilizers, which because of their cost have so far been used only with cash crops, whereas many African and Asian shifting cultivators have had a knowledge of other methods or contact with peoples practising more advanced systems of traditional agriculture.*

A third possible situation in which population pressure may fail to produce corresponding technological advances in agriculture is where institutional problems reduce the farmer's incentive, or ability, to undertake improvements. Boserup, for example, in a discussion of investment under landlord tenure, argues that the disorganization of the feudal land-tenure system of India during the colonial period, by slowing down investment in land improvement, especially irrigation facilities, helped to prevent agricultural output from responding to population growth. In Tonga the customs relating to land could produce a similar result. While land is individually held and the security of tenure good, land borrowing, sanctioned by custom, is widespread and requests for land are not necessarily made only to those who have it to spare. Consequently farmers do not have full control over the use of their land, and although field work indicates that this is not yet a reason for the failure to adopt new methods, farmers may in the future be reluctant to make an investment in improved techniques if the benefit of their investment may be gained by someone else.†

* In both these cases the failure to adopt new techniques could lead to the ecological collapse described by Geertz, particularly in drier environments where regeneration of the fallow vegetation is more difficult.

† See also the comments of Waddell (this volume) on the relation of investment in improvements to tenacity of land tenure.

67: Maude K-5 (1961) 1973 OU9 Tonga OU9



While the second of the three situations outlined above is a possible explanation of the failure to improve agricultural techniques in Tonga, another type of explanation—that such improvements are not yet necessary—seems most likely to be correct. As suggested earlier, the soils are of high inherent fertility, and shifting cultivation systems can withstand a good deal of intensification before fundamental changes are essential. The adoption of cassava and dryland varieties of taro, both of which were introduced into Tonga in the nineteenth century, has helped to maintain yields per man-hour as cropping has been intensified, while the adoption of the metal push-hoe has enabled farmers to cope with the changes in the fallow vegetation. Such adaptations in the agricultural system may well be sufficient at the present level of intensity. The symptoms of population pressure are still mild, and the main pressures felt by Tongans, to judge from the material on land problems and migration, are in cash cropping rather than in the food-cropping system. Acceptance of this explanation would thus leave Boserup's thesis in the category of 'not proven', but probable.

However, the fact that the most significant changes in Tongan agriculture, involving such practices as machine preparation of land and the use of chemical fertilizers, have occurred in Tongatapu amongst farmers heavily engaged in cash cropping rather than amongst the less commercialized farmers in more densely-populated Ha'apai, suggests one major qualification to her argument. While land shortage has undoubtedly been a factor in these changes, for they began about the time when land ceased to be easily obtainable in Tongatapu, they indicate that commercialization is also a stimulus to the adoption of improved techniques. Population pressure, as noted above, is felt mostly in cash cropping rather than in food cropping. The income received from cash cropping makes it feasible to purchase industrial inputs such as fertilizers, while changes in cash cropping have repercussions throughout the agricultural system. The increase in the area planted in cash crops, for instance, intensifies the pressure on the bush fallow system, but where food crops are intercultivated with a cash crop like bananas, as is frequently the case, the former benefit from the fertilizer used for the latter, thus making it possible to lengthen the cropping period and reduce the role of the bush fallow. With coconuts, a long-term crop, the need to control bush growth conflicts with the traditional practice of bush fallowing, and the achievement of higher productivity in coconut

67: Maude K-5 (1961) 1973 OU9 Tonga OU9



plantations will thus require changes in food cropping techniques. At present, therefore, commercialization and population pressure would appear to be working together to stimulate agricultural improvements in Tonga, and where one or the other is weak the extent of agricultural advancement is so far limited.

[190 cont.]

101 and have the same social and mercantile disposition. All these then
115 might be added to the Friendly Islands. They are in general remarkably
well inhabited, particularly those which we visited. Tonga-Tabboo
is almost one continual garden, and Ea-oowe, Namoka, and the adjacent
islands, are some of the most fertile spots in the Pacific Ocean.
161 We shall therefore be extremely moderate in our calculation, if we
115 suppose the number of inhabitants in all these islands does not exceed
182 200,000 persons. Their healthy climate, and its excellent productions,
164 keep them free from those numerous diseases, to which we fall an easy
115 prey, and, according to their plain and simple notions, satisfy all
511 their wants. Their progress in the arts, beyond other nations in the
53 South Sea, and particularly their refinement in music, serve to pass
115 away their time agreeably, and give them taste to acknowledge and
discern the beauties of their own exquisite forms, from whence one
181 of the strongest ties of society is derived. Their general turn is
609 active and industrious, but their behaviour to strangers more polite
115
[189] than cordial. Their peculiar propensity to trade seems to have sub-
stituted this insincere civility, in the room of real friendship, from
171 those interested and mercenary principles which commerce inspires. Both
115 [191] these characters are in direct opposition to those of the Taheitians,
[181] who delight in an indolent life, and are too hearty in their affections
[511] to confine them to outward shew and specious appearances. However
there are many luxurious individuals (arreoys) at the Society Islands,
whose moral character appears to be somewhat depraved; whilst the people
of the Friendly Islands seem to be ignorant of vices, which can only
have arisen from a superior degree of opulence.

122 The canoes which accompanied us from Namoka returned at noon

74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978
(ca. 1800-1850)
OU9 Tonga OU9



128 For this dissertation examples are drawn from sources pertaining
101 to the Polynesian archipelago of Tonga. Tonga derived its name from
103 the principal island of the group, Tongatapu or sacred Tonga. The
"tapu" was probably appended to the "Tonga" because this island became
101 the residence of the leaders of the archipelago. Tongatapu Island was
the focal point for the political and religious system in the archi-
174 pelago prior to and after European contact. The Polynesians who ori-
133 ginally settled all of the Tongan archipelago appear to have chosen
this relatively flat island, no higher than 200 feet above sea level
along points on the southern or cliff-bound liku coast, because of
133 terrain and climate. The middle, or Ha'apai, group of islands, tradi-
tionally set off from Tongatapu by the volcanically formed islands of
Hunga Ha'apai and Hunga Tonga, are a series of low islets. The northern-
most island group of Vava'u has relatively high hills, with most of the
132 land being at least 100 feet above sea level. Vava'u was, and is,
182 subject to more destructive hurricanes than Tongatapu during the hurri-
cane season and it was only on Tongatapu that relative permanency of
material culture and continuity of leadership could be maintained for
generations.

131 The territorial boundaries of the Kingdon of Tonga were pro-
claimed by King George Tupou I to be 15°S and 23°S and 173°W and 177°W
(Tonga Government Gazette, Vol. 2, No. 55, August 24, 1887). The
islands of the Kingdom thus fall within a rectangle of the South Pacific
some 596 miles North-South by 264 miles East-West, with the outer
islands of the Kingdom being Niua Fo'ou Island to the North at 15°34'S

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9



of one or the other without diffusing its influence over the whole man, and over the whole frame of society.'

The traditional Tongan society with its social, economic and political institutions had been closely integrated with the traditional religious system. When the influential chiefs and their people accepted Christianity, the equilibrium of the old social system was undermined and changes and adjustments became inevitable. A deliberate effort was made to reconstruct Tongan society upon the new Christian beliefs and values. It was to be based only upon those old customs and traditions which the missionaries and their chiefly converts thought suitable for the new design, and it was to incorporate many new and imported elements.

The immense task of social reconstruction proved to be too formidable for the chiefly builders, who were often at a loss as to the nature of the new design. During the first two or three decades, they were forced to rely heavily upon the advice of the missionaries. These converted chiefs were already the political leaders of their various *kāinga,* and their continued reliance on the missionaries ensured that the missionaries had almost as much to do with political matters as they had with religious guidance.

There was a precedent for this, in the close alliance between the priests and chiefs in pre-missionary Tongan society. It was therefore not surprising to find the converted chiefs, who wished to pursue their politics according to Christian principles, as early as 1827, consulting the missionaries on political matters (N. Turner, Journal, 29 Nov. 1827, WMMS 1818-36, item A2833).

The result was a fusion of church and state matters. Residences for the missionaries, school buildings and churches were built and maintained by the people, often not on their own initiative, but rather 'in obedience to the command (*fekau*) of the King. Their conversion was a "mea Fakafetogia"—(a matter imposed upon them by the government)' (Whewell to Eggleston, 4 Aug. 1856, WMMSA 1852-79; item 170). Peter Turner (Journal, 24 May 1841) wrote, 'I must say that the people have done much for us since we came. They have thatched our house—and the house of Bro' Kevern. And they are about to put up a house for Bro' Wilson and a house for an academy.'

The fusion of church and state matters caused some confusion

80: Maude K-5 (1961) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9



fertile loamy to clayey soil, termed *kelefatu* by Tongans, which covers most of Tongatapu and Vava'u and much of Ha'apai. The other significant type, *tou'one*, is a sandy and less fertile soil found at low elevations near the sea, particularly in Ha'apai where it influences the pattern of land division. On Ha'afeva (see Figure 1)[A] for example, most landholders have their holding in two separate roughly two-acre sections, one of *kelefatu* and one of *tou'one*. Elsewhere in the raised limestone islands local variations in land quality are not sufficient to affect land tenure.

## TRADITIONAL LAND TENURE

The evidence so far available on the pre-contact landholding system in Tonga is inadequate and sometimes conflicting, and much research remains to be done. The basic unit of society was the household or *'api*, which generally consisted of a married couple, their unmarried children, any married sons with their families, and perhaps one or more other relatives. Descent was usually, but not exclusively, patrilineal, and a number of households whose members considered themselves to be related by descent through males from a common ancestor formed a lineage or *fa'ahinga*.[2] The *fa'ahinga* was headed by an *'ulumotu'a*, who usually held an hereditary title as *matapule*, *foha* or *tehina*[3] to the chief. Since membership of the *fa'ahinga* was generally reckoned through the father, and since residence on marriage was usually with the parents of the husband, members of the *fa'ahinga* lived mostly in one area.

Several *fa'ahinga* together formed the group subject to the authority and control of a chief. One of these *fa'ahinga* was the lineage of the chief himself. Some or all of the others were believed to be related to him by descent from a common ancestor, but some were founded by outsiders who attached themselves to a chief, often as *matapule* (Gifford 1929:140-1). A group of related titled chiefs formed a *ha'a* and claimed to be connected by descent from a common ancestor. The *ha'a* was partly a kinship group in that its chiefs considered themselves to be related to each other and to most of the people under them, but it also had the character of 'a political association of people around a lineage core' (Nayacakalou 1959:95). On Tongatapu the *ha'a* formed rough but not completely exclusive territorial units.

The broad features of this social structure were reflected in the land tenure system, but interpretations of the available evidence differ in some significant aspects. Some writers suggest

A [See Category 423, p. 109--Analyst.]

80: Maude K-5 (1961) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9



a quarter acres of land. In most villages a large proportion of households and taxpayers had no land at all, and in some a number of taxpayers held more than eight acres. The pattern of land distribution also varied from village to village.

Table 1: Some Examples of Land Distribution

| Village | | Percentage distribution of households and taxpayers by acreage of land held* 0 | 1-3 | 4-6 | 7-9 | 10-12 | 13-15 | 16-18 | 19 and over |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ha'avakatolo | H† | 18 | 9 | 9 | 27 | 16 | – | 6 | 15 |
| 1962 | T‡ | 45 | 4 | 9 | 22 | 7 | 4 | 5 | 4 |
| Ha'akame | H | 31 | – | 2 | 49 | 2 | 2 | 7 | 7 |
| 1962 | T | 55 | – | 1 | 37 | 3 | 1 | – | 3 |
| Nukunuku | H | 30 | – | 1 | 51 | 2 | 1 | 14 | 1 |
| 1960 | T | 51 | – | 1 | 44 | 1 | – | 3 | – |
| Vaini | H | 36 | – | – | 32 | – | – | 11 | 21 |
| 1962 | T | 41 | – | – | 29 | – | – | 3 | 7 |
| Niutoua | H | 3 | – | – | 66 | – | – | 31 | – |
| 1962 | T | 18 | – | – | 82 | – | – | – | – |
| Ha'ateiho | H | 25 | – | – | 58 | – | – | 10 | 7 |
| 1957 | | | | | | | | | |
| 'Uiha | H | 9 | 10 | 41 | 24 | 9 | 4 | 2 | 1 |
| 1952 | | | | | | | | | |
| Ha'afeva | H | 43 | 10 | 28 | 10 | 7 | – | – | – |
| 1966 | T | 61 | 8 | 29 | 2 | – | – | – | – |

* to the nearest acre
† percentage of households
‡ percentage of taxpayers
*Sources:* Ha'avakatolo, Ha'akame, Vaini, Niutoua and Ha'afeva, field survey by writer; Nukunuku, field survey by R. G. Crocombe; Ha'ateiho, Nayacakalou 1959:104; 'Uiha, Koch 1955:120-1. The figures for Vaini, Niutoua and Ha'afeva are based on sample surveys.

The major reasons for these variations in land distribution and for the lack of correspondence between law and practice in the holding of land are the uneven distribution of population (an unevenness which does not correspond to variations in agricultural productivity), the incomplete subdivision and allocation of allotments discussed above, and the fact that there are now more taxpayers than allotments, a problem which will be discussed below.

In areas where population densities are about 500 persons per square mile and over (as in western Tongatapu, around Nuku'alofa, in most of Ha'apai and in south-eastern Vava'u) most holdings have for some time been less than eight acres, and even so there are many more men entitled to land than there are allotments for them to hold. In these districts no attempt

80: Maude K-5 (1961) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9



has been made to increase allotments to the statutory size, because this would have involved the dispossession of many landholders; surveys have therefore simply defined the existing boundaries except where allotments proved to be more than eight and a quarter acres, and most holdings are from three to six acres in size. The typical pattern of land distribution in these areas is shown in the figures for Ha'avakatolo (western Tongatapu) and Ha'afeva and 'Uiha (Ha'apai) in Table 1. In Ha'avakatolo (see Figure 1) on an hereditary estate, land shortage is eased because some men have allotments on near-by estates. Furthermore, since few allotments in Ha'avakatolo have been registered, there has been nothing to prevent some men from acquiring two or even three, with a total area of over eight acres; the head of one household in 1962, for example, had inherited a registered eight-acre allotment from his father, but also held an unregistered three-acre allotment given to him by the estate-holder, although this is contrary to the intention of the law.

In Ha'afeva the pattern of land distribution is complicated by out-migration. In 1966 no less than forty of the ninety-one persons who held land on the island (some of whom were widows) had moved either temporarily or permanently to other islands. Their land was left in the care of others, and the pattern of land distribution which resulted is shown in Table 2. Land was usually left in the care of relatives, not necessarily those without land of their own. Thus despite the fact that at the beginning of 1966 there were more holdings on Ha'afeva than there were households, nearly twenty per cent of the households still did not have control over an allotment. To what extent Ha'afeva is typical of other islands in Ha'apai is difficult to determine. The Governor of Ha'apai estimated in 1964 that about fifteen per cent of tax allotments in the group were held by non-residents (Tonga 1964:47), but several informants indicated that the pattern on Ha'afeva was similar to that on several other islands in the group.

Table 2: Land Distribution, Ha'afeva, 1966*

| | Percentage distribution of households by acreage of land held or looked after | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 0 | 1-3 | 4-6 | 7-9 | 10-12 | 13-15 | 16 and over |
| Land held | 43 | 10 | 28 | 12 | 7 | – | – |
| Total land held or looked after | 19 | 5 | 33 | 27 | 12 | 2 | 2 |

* Based on a sample of approximately half the households in the village

[See Category 423, p. 109--Analyst.]

80: Maude K-5 (1961) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9



In areas of more moderate population density (about 300-400 persons per square mile) the pattern of land distribution on estates which have been fully subdivided is shown in the figures for Ha'akame, Nukunuku and Ha'ateiho.[A] Here most households have either eight acres or no land at all, although in Ha'akame several taxpayers hold twelve-acre allotments and a block of thirty-three acres is held as a lease by the only man of rank in the village. Where the population density falls to about 200 persons per square mile or less the pattern on subdivided estates is represented by the figures for Niutoua in eastern Tongatapu (see Table 1 and Figure 1),[A] where only three per cent of the households in 1962 were without land. Yet even there about eighteen per cent of the taxpayers had no land, because one-third of the registered allotments on the estate were held by people who lived in other settlements, mostly either in Nuku'alofa or in other villages in eastern Tongatapu. Where subdivision and allocation of allotments is not complete the proportion of taxpayers and households without land is very much higher, as is shown in the figures for Vaini in central Tongatapu, where in 1962 about one-half of the estate was still in customary holdings. The recent allocation of allotments has significantly altered the pattern of land distribution on this estate, but has had little or no effect on the other villages discussed above.

The significance of this unequal distribution of land between individuals and households needs to be carefully assessed, for the borrowing of land from relatives, friends or estate-holders is common. It is fairly easy to obtain the use of land for growing short-term and largely subsistence food crops, even in densely settled areas, although many men claim that it has become more difficult in recent years. Where land is borrowed from a relative often no direct return is made, but when borrowing from others it is customary to give part of the crop, such as a basket of yams, to the landholder.

Obtaining the use of land for cash cropping is more difficult, and although it would be hard to find a family short of food simply because it could not borrow enough land for gardening, households without land tend to have significantly lower cash incomes than households with land. Borrowing for cash cropping particularly has become more difficult over the last two years, for with the improved market for bananas landholders have expanded their own plantings and are less willing to lend their land to others, especially for more than one or two years. In Tongatapu today it is not unusual to find people having to pay for the use of land for cash cropping, although renting without

[A] [See Category 423, pp. 109, 117--Analyst.]

80: Maude K-5 (1961) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9



land is much higher among in-migrants than among those who belong there by birth (Maude 1965:118-19, Nayacakalou 1959:111), and the difficulty and uncertainty of obtaining an allotment has probably deterred migration from the densely settled areas. At the same time there has not been much opportunity for those who have allotments in these areas, but who have moved elsewhere, to exchange their old holdings for new ones (an exchange which is provided for in the Land Act) and so make land available for others, as should have happened in the case of Ha'afeva discussed earlier.

The main direction of migration within Tonga in recent years, moreover, has been towards Nuku'alofa and other parts of Tongatapu where the opportunities for earning money and the better educational facilities have been more important attractions than the possibility of obtaining land. People have been much less interested in moving to 'Eua and to western Vava'u, where land has been the only attraction (Maude 1965:81-6, Walsh 1964b: 188). Thus internal migration has only partly led to a better distribution of land; it has had only a small effect on the tenure problems of the densely settled areas, and among the rapidly-growing population of Nuku'alofa a large proportion of households are landless. In a sample survey of households in the town Walsh (1964b:63) found that only forty-nine per cent had a tax allotment on Tongatapu, sometimes miles from the town, while another six per cent had land elsewhere in Tonga. In the 1966 census only thirty-three per cent of taxpayers in Nuku'alofa stated that they had a tax allotment.

## LAND TENURE AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

The Tongan land tenure system also needs to be assessed in terms of the way in which land is used. Has this system, with its individual title to land and security of tenure, proved a satisfactory basis for cash cropping, and has it fostered the development of independent small holders free of some of the problems found with more traditional systems of land tenure in other parts of the South Pacific?

Cash cropping in Tonga has been largely confined to coconuts and bananas, but there is no indication that land tenure has been a factor in the non-acceptance of other crops. The early stages in the development of the present tenure system were apparently marked by an increase in cash cropping, for Rutherford (1966:58-9) quotes the opinion of Maudslay that the 1862

80: Maude K-5 (1961) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9



code, by increasing the commoners' security of tenure, greatly stimulated the planting of coconuts. From 1887 onwards the trend in copra production can be followed from the export statistics. Between 1887 and 1912 the mean annual *per capita* export of copra increased from 0.27 tons (1887-90) to 0.54 tons (1908-12), a level which was maintained, apart from the period affected by the hurricanes of 1912 and 1913 and by the First World War, until 1930. The writer has found no evidence, however, to show whether this increase was a result of the 1882 revision of the land law.[7]

In recent years, on the other hand, the incomplete subdivision and allocation of allotments has restricted further planting of coconuts, and is one reason for the present low level of *per capita* copra production. Many parts of central and eastern Tongatapu, and of 'Eua and Vava'u, are only sparsely planted in palms, and in central and eastern Tongatapu people with large customary holdings have tended to plant only part of their land, while men who have moved to these districts and been given a plot to garden have not wished to plant coconuts until their tenure is secure. On several Tongatapu estates visited during field-work, where the land had been subdivided before the recent survey, the systematic planting of coconuts had only begun after the subdivision and allocation of allotments. In eastern Tongatapu in 1956 the mean *per capita* production of copra was 0.48 tons on estates in which most or all of the land had been subdivided into eight-and-a-quarter-acre allotments, and 0.39 tons on estates in which most of the land remained in larger customary holdings, although these means are unfortunately based on too few villages for the difference to be statistically significant. The recent allocation of allotments in Tongatapu and elsewhere (together with the Coconut Replanting Scheme which began in 1965) should result in a marked increase in the area planted in palms, and in the opinion of some Tongans the allocation has already facilitated the recent expansion in banana planting by providing more growers with a secure tenure. There are therefore grounds for concluding that when properly applied the land tenure system does provide a good basis for agricultural development.

One limitation of the Tongan system, however, is its lack of flexibility. For a variety of reasons many men find eight and a quarter acres insufficient, but because of the shortage of land it is now difficult, if not impossible, to obtain the ten or twelve acre allotments provided for in the law, and there is no un-

80: Maude K-5 (1961) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9



allocated land left for leasing. Consequently land borrowing by those who already have allotments of their own is common, and land use by no means coincides with the tenure of land. Yet borrowing is not always a satisfactory solution, for the borrower can seldom obtain land except for a short period and for short-term crops. While the more enterprising therefore tend to be hampered by the land tenure system, the lazy are protected, for at present the government makes no attempt to enforce the provisions in the Land Act requiring landholders to cultivate their allotments and plant coconuts.

Land borrowing may also restrict the lender's control over the use of his holding for, despite individual tenure, requests from close relatives and friends for the temporary use of land are difficult to refuse, and such requests are not necessarily made only to those who have land to spare. Social obligations of this nature also restrict the independence of the farmer in other ways familiar to the student of the South Pacific. For instance, relatives and friends may request a load of coconuts, a few baskets of tubers, or cash, and consequently men trying to increase production find their efforts hampered. Such obligations continue to be honoured partly because of tradition, sentiment and the prestige gained by the giver, but also because they still fulfil their essential function of ensuring the security of the individual and his family. Marriages and funerals also involve obligations of kinship and friendship. A study of the literature on Western Samoa and Fiji, and the comments of Tongans who have lived in Samoa and Samoans who have lived in Tonga, suggest that the Tongan farmer may be able to achieve a slightly greater degree of independence, without having to contract out of his society, than is the case in the neighbouring territories, and for this the system of landholding is probably largely responsible. At the same time, however, individual tenure in Tonga has not produced fully independent farmers, for social obligations still restrict the individual's control over his land, his time and his produce.

## SOME BENEFITS OF THE SYSTEM

Although various factors have thus restricted the effectiveness of the Tongan land tenure system both as a method of land allocation and as a basis for land use, it has many good points. It has provided many men with secure, lifetime, individual leaseholds which can be passed on to their descendants; it has enabled Tonga to avoid the problems of fragmentation, subdivision and

80: Maude K-5 (1961) 1971 0U9 Tonga 0U9



multiple ownership found elsewhere; and it has not tied areas of land to particular social groups. It has prevented land from passing into foreign ownership and has limited the area taken up in foreign-held leases, and at the same time has prevented the dispossession of the commoners and the over-concentration of land rights in the hands of the chiefs.[8] Tonga now also has a nearly complete survey of all agricultural holdings, as well as a reasonably efficient records system for land grants, transfers and rent payments.

Furthermore, many of the weaknesses discussed in previous sections have resulted not so much from the Land Act itself but from its inadequate application, and in the past few years a great deal has at last been done to ensure a better distribution of land. A final strong argument in favour of the system is the remarkably small number of disputes. During the five-year period 1952-6 a total of 178 cases came before the Land Court, but 141 of these were over the non-payment of rent; there were only twenty-three cases involving a disputed claim to a tax or town allotment, the great majority of which were won by the defendant, and none involving a dispute over an allotment boundary.

## THE FUTURE

Some changes in the basic principles of the land tenure system, however, will be essential if it is to meet the problems raised by a rapidly-growing population. The total number of tax allotments so far marked out is about 12,140 if every two allotments of less than four acres are counted as one (Maude 1965:166, 181), yet there are already about 20,000 males aged sixteen and over legally entitled to land, and some of the present allotments are held by widows or (as with some holdings recently allocated) by boys under sixteen. By 1980 the number of taxpayers entitled to land is likely to be about 33,000, nearly treble the number of existing allotments.[9]

In assessing the changes that might be made, two points need to be kept in mind. One is the need to avoid potentially serious social, economic and perhaps political problems that would result from a large proportion of the male population being without land and without any hope of acquiring land. Already at least eighty-four per cent of taxpayers in the age group 20-24 are without a tax allotment, while in the age groups 25-29 and 30-34 the corresponding proportions are seventy-five per cent and sixty-three per cent respectively. The opportunities for developing

80: Maude K-5 (1961) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9



## NOTES

[1] The writer acknowledges with gratitude the help received from many people in Tonga and elsewhere while collecting the material for this chapter. Particular acknowledgement is made to the staff of the Lands and Survey Department, the Honourable Mahe Tupouniua, Mr 'Iteni Helu, Dr Sione Latukefu, Mr Tangata Lakepa and Professor R. G. Crocombe, who do not, of course, share any responsibility for the opinions expressed here.

[2] The correct term for this group in pre-contact Tonga is uncertain and today Tongans use the word *famili*, from English, or *matakali*, which is of Fijian origin. The term *fa'ahinga* is used by Latukefu (1967).

[3] The *matapule* are the chief's attendants and spokesmen; *foha* and *tehina* are minor titles under a chief.

[4] The crosses mark allotments held by persons not belonging to the same *fa'ahinga* as the rest of the landholders in that area.

[5] On a government estate the process of obtaining land has generally been less difficult, but in recent years most of these estates, especially in Tongatapu, have had few vacant allotments.

[6] These figures are from the preliminary results of the 1966 census, by courtesy of the Census Commissioner, Mr N. Fiefia.

[7] It may be noted here that there are several references to the planting of coconuts having stopped in the first decade of this century (because maladministration of land matters by the King and the estate-holders made people feel insecure in their tenure), which suggests that previously planting had been common. On the other hand, the registration of allotments does not appear to have begun until 1898, and registration on a significant scale did not begin until about 1915.

[8] But note that by law an estate-holder may reserve part of his estate for himself and the successors to his title and, since the regulation provided for in the Land Act to determine the area of this *'api fakatofi'a* has never been made, some retain personal holdings of up to 200 or 300 acres, although part of this land is being used by villagers and others.

[9] From the preliminary results of the 1966 census.

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81: Bott E,P-4,5 (no date) 1972 0U9 Tonga 0U9



accord with constellations of envy and rivalry in other aspects of Tongan social life. It helped to order the facts in a new and comparatively simple pattern that I had not seen before. But it seems very likely that at various times and to various Tongans any or all of the variants described above might be unconsciously meaningful. The ambiguity of myths and ceremonies is part of their point. It gives individuals some leeway to play with experience, to make culture their own possession.

The particular beauty of the kava ceremony, at least for me, is that it deals with problems on so many different levels at the same time. It clarifies social principles and roles. It puts a temporary brake on certain types of rapid change. It states and partly resolves problems of dependence and envy, and of interdependence and rivalry, some aspects of which are generated by the peculiarly Tongan system of social stratification, and some by the universal human attributes of having a capacity for thinking and feeling and being brought up in a society.

Small-scale societies tend to have multidimensional ceremonies of this type more frequently than we do. This suggests that time and continuity of shared experience are needed to build a ceremony that can transmit messages on many different levels at the same time. A long history of interpersonal contact and conflict makes possible the development of a symbolic statement in which universal human experiences are meaningfully linked with unique social circumstances.

In conclusion, I hope that I may have been able to interest you in taking a fresh look at ceremonies in our own society – at the coronation, for example, or at the elaborate ceremonial installation of the Lord Mayor of London as compared to the absence of ceremony in the installation of the head of the Greater London Council, at the Communion Service, at weddings, funerals, New Year's Eve parties, and so forth. Are roles dramatized and clarified? Is there a sense of continuity with the past? Is a symbolic form of expression provided for unspoken, or unformulated, or unconscious thoughts? Does the

132 The cyclonic storms, although much
[731] more severe and harmful to the agricultural economy, are
[241] infrequent and account for only a small proportion of the total rainfall over a period of years. Local convectional rainfall also contributes to the annual total.

Although, on the average, there are wet and dry seasons, there is considerable variability from year to
132 year and rainfall is often unreliable (Figure 6). Periods
241 of drought are often experienced between April and
731 December, which affect copra yields, banana production, and
[134] subsistence crops. These periods of drought generally last no longer than one or two months, but even spells of one to two weeks can be detrimental to agriculture owing to the free-draining nature of the soil.

The unpredictable rainfall regime on Tongatapu also has periods of excessively heavy rain, which reduce yields of important tree crops. In 1972, for example, heavy rains during the flowering period of mango trees (Mangifera indica, according to Tongan informants, reduced the usually abundant mango crop on Tongatapu by an estimated 95 percent.

132 Despite occasional adverse conditions, the rainfall of
241 Tongatapu is adequate to support not only the plant
182 assemblages of the traditional Tongan agricultural system
132 but also many introduced crops. Moreover, this rainfall, is uniformly distributed throughout Tongatapu owing to the absence of significant topographic differences.

132 **Humidity**

The humidity in Tongatapu is relatively high throughout the year, averaging about 79 percent, with only minor differences from one season to another (Table 5).

Table 5. Mean relative humidity, Nuku'alofa (1949-1970).

| | J | F | M | A | M | J | J | A | S | O | N | D | Annual |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| % | 81 | 82 | 83 | 81 | 77 | 78 | 76 | 76 | 77 | 77 | 77 | 78 | 79 |

Although no quantitative data are available, sunny days on Tongatapu far out-number cloudy days.

132 In short, the climate of Tongatapu is mild and moist,
182 having adequate warmth, rainfall, and sunshine to support
241 a viable agricultural system. However, the yearly distribution of rainfall is unreliable, and often brings about periods of prolonged drought. The occurrence, although infrequent, of gale force winds also proves to be an adverse climatic factor.

## Soils

127 Only limited data are available on the properties and distribution of Tongatapu soils. A preliminary soil survey was carried out by the New Zealand Soil Bureau (Gibbs, 1969) and analyses of selected soil samples have been carried out by Cottrell-Dormer (1941), Maude (1965), and Spier (1971). It is primarily upon these data that the

134 242 Although the differences between the Nuku'alofa and Sopu soils seem to be obvious, Tongans generally refer to them both as tou'one. Some waterlogged hydromorphic soils 134 are distinguished as 'umea or kelekele'umea. Lowland soils or tou'one range from highly alkaline to neutral in reaction and are low in available nitrogen, phosphorus, and potassium and high in available calcium and magnesium. Citrus and some other crops show an iron deficiency in some low-lying areas (Nakagawa, 1971) and most nutrients [242] are easily depleted by heavy cropping. Nevertheless, Tongans find these soils suitable for most crops except yams, and particularly suitable for sweet potatoes.

[241] [182] In short, the soils of Tongatapu, although somewhat deficient in certain nutrients, provide an excellent basis for traditional Tongan agricultural practices. Furthermore, owing to the well-drained nature of most of the soils and the lack of relief, few if any cases of soils erosion are encountered on the island.

241 Primary Vegetation

A major feature of traditional shifting agricultural systems is the felling of trees and other vegetation and burning of the dried remains. When yields begin to decline, a new section of forests or bush is cleared. 241 Theoretically, if given a sufficiently long fallow or 137 intercropping period, the primary vegetation should re- 311

175 visit in 1793, a period of civil war between various high
669 chiefs throughout the archipelago prevailed from 1799 until
721 1852 (Wood, 1945:29-54).

797 The "missionary period", which essentially began with
669 the arrival of the first successful missionaries (John
721 Thomas, John Hutchinson and two Tahitians, Habe and Tafeta, in 1825), overlapped the latter part of this period of civil
721 disorder. Between 1826 and 1852, the warfare in Tonga in-
669 volved struggles for political and religious influence bet-
798 ween heathen (often aided by Catholics) and Protestant
795 Christian factions. The final war in 1852, established the
642 dominance of the Tu'i Kanokupolu line and of Christianity
643 over the entire archipelago. When Tu'i Laufilitonga(of the
[797] Tu'i Kanokupolu line) died in 1865, George Tupou I became the political, military, and religious ruler of Tonga.

642 According to Maude (1965:35), the political stability crea-
648 ted by the unification of the Kingdom under Tupou I, was
182 probably the main reason Tonga was able to retain its independent status when other Pacific Islands Kingdoms were falling under the sovereignty of European powers.

797 During Tupou I's reign, the Wesleyan Mission maintained
642 considerable influence in Tongan politics. As early as 1839,
[643] Tupou I (then known as Taufa'ahau) had drawn up a code of laws for Vava'u. This code was revised in 1852 to pertain to the entire Tongan archipelago and further developed, with assistance of the Revernd Shirley Baker, into the "Consti-

842 definite barriers to the success of family planning in Tonga. One of the foremost is the cultural desirability of
163 having large families. The average fertility rate, based on the study, was estimated at 7.3 births per woman (Wolff
000 and De Sarmo, 1970:6-23). Even if the birth rate were reduced to two per cent per annum, the Kingdom's population in 1996 would be close to 150,000, with over 100,000 on Tongatapu; the population density for Tongatapu would then be over 1,000 people per square mile (386 per square kilometer) or approximately 17.7 persons per bush allotment (based on the present number of 5,652 bush allotments on
161 Tongatapu). The estimated population density for Tongatapu at the time of this study in 1971 was 626 persons per square mile (about 242 per square kilometer) or about 10.4
000 persons per bush allotment. Such a population increase will inevitably change the existing agricultural system through a shortening of fallow periods and a reorientation
241 of cropping practices and plant selection. Incipient
182 changes are already taking place with the supplanting of yams, bananas, and taro as the main subsistence crops by manioc, which has a shorter growth period and will continue to produce high yields when planted repeatedly on the same
000 plot. Finally, there will be further increases in the number of landless Tongans who will have to look for employment outside the agricultural sector.

**Population Distribution**

161 162 The distribution of population also has an effect on the nature of the agricultural system. Since European contact, there have been major Kingdom-wide changes in the distribution of the population, as well as changes within each island group.

161 162 [166] Immigration from the outer islands has resulted in a disproportionate growth of Tongatapu's population. Population figures from four censuses (Table 7) show that whereas Tongatapu had just over 40 percent of the Kingdom's population in 1921, it now has over 60 percent. From 1956 to 1966 population growth in the outer islands was less than one-third that of Tongatapu. During these ten years, population growth has been 76 percent in the capital city of Nuku'alofa and environs; even in rural Tongatapu, the growth rate of 43 percent is greater than that of the Kingdom as a whole (Tupouniua, 1958:42-45; Fiefia, 1968:38-42).

166 369 Incentives for migration to Tongatapu and especially to Nuku'alofa include: better educational and recreational facilities; opportunities for wage labor; better transportation and chances to go overseas; more developed network for marketing agricultural products locally and overseas; 161 and the general aura and excitement of urban life. Regardless of the motives for population redistribution, the 162 effect on Tongatapu's agriculture is considerable, and there 182 is an increased demand for land and a burgeoning landless 311 class on Tongatapu.

where European institutions such as life insurance, workman's compensation, social security, and freehold land are not available.

Although the primary function of the agricultural system is to provide for the Tongan family's everyday subsistence needs, a secondary function, which at times takes on major importance, is to provide the owner with products to be used, either directly or indirectly, in fulfilling his social obligations, both to his kinsmen and to the society as a whole. Accordingly, although European goods and cash are being increasingly used, exchanges or presentations of traditional Tongan products, such as fine mats, tapa cloth, yams, pigs, kava, and sugar cane, are still the predominant means of maintaining such ties. In order to gain a better understanding of their inter-relationship with the agricultural system, a brief description and analysis of the well-ordered ties within the Tongan society is necessary. These ties or obligations fall into two general classes: kinship ties and social ties. The following treatment of Tongan social structure is based on the author's personal observations and works by Gifford (1927), Beaglehole and Beaglehole (1938), Nayacakalou (1959), Maude (1965), Aoyagi (1966), Latukefu (1967), Kaeppler (1971), and Morton (1972).

## Kinship Ties

The most common Tongan terms denoting personal kind-

423 schools, egalitarian principles are gaining wider accept-
427 ance and if presentations are to be made to the nobles,
565 they are generally made during ceremonial occasions. How-
178 ever, there are a number of nobles who have as yet not
651 granted permanent tenure to tenants on their land and con-
tinue to exact tribute in the form of cash or produce for
the privilege of tenure.

554 Apart from the nobility, the positions of matapule,
town officers and district officers, artisans, ministers,
schoolteachers, and successful entrepreneurs, all demand
[437] certain respect. In order to maintain a favourable social
atmosphere, reciprocal exchanges of money, food, or labor
are made between these individuals and their constituencies.

182 In summary, it must be stressed that these social ties,
571 as well as the previously described kinship ties, provide
602 the basis for cohesion in the Tongan society. Not only do
these set up vast networks of both unilateral and bilateral
exchanges of cash, food, and services, but they also provide
the basis for the political system, land tenure, and the
565 organization of labor. At the present time, the titles of
178 chiefs, particularly nobles, still carry great social,
economic, and political power. Similarly, the nuclear
178 family, the broader kin group, and the village still play a
602 major role with the social and economic life of the average
571 Tongan. However, with increasing exposure to other
[177] cultures, a continuing influence of the church, and an
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increased dependence on the cash economy, the traditional forms of social organization are changing to allow more individualism, egalitarianism, and personal freedom and consequent modification of the traditional Tongan agricultural system.

## Land Tenure

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### Traditional Land Tenure

Of the limited information concerning Tongan land tenure before European contact, the most comprehensive survey is that by Maude (1971). According to Maude, the pre-contact system probably consisted of sets of overlapping stewardships, in contrast to the more individualistic present system. The basic landholding group was a patrilineal known as a fa'ahinga or matakali. Each fa'ahinga was headed by an ulumotu'a, who usually held a hereditary title such as matapule (Ceremonial attendant) or foha to the chief.

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A number of these fa'ahinga were grouped under the authority of a chief, the highest ranking fa'ahinga within this group being the chief's own. A number of related chiefs, and their fa'ahinga, were grouped into ha'a, which had rights over large tracts of land which "formed rough but not completely exclusive territorial units" (Maude, 1971:107). The ultimate title to all land was probably vested nominally in the Tu'i Tonga, who represented the highest ranking ha'a.

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[643]

H23 in north-central Tongatapu (Figure 1). According to Maude
H23 (1965:102), these areas have never been re-divided into
182 8 1/4 acre allotments because, in these areas of high popu-
lation density, the customary allotments have always been
smaller and enlarging them to statutory size would have
resulted in the dispossession of a great number of land
holders. In central and eastern Tongatapu, however, where
population densities are less and customary holdings were
characteristically larger, it has been possible to subdivide
these into statutory allotments.

H23 Although there are still some oversized customary
holdings which are unsurveyed, the only significantly over-
sized holdings which are still considered "tax allotments"
(the legal term for bush allotments) are four customary
allotments of 147, 137, 61 and 23 acres (59,55, 25 and
9 hectares) which were granted to holders by Tu'ipelehake
on the portion of his estate known as Lafalafa, north of
Fua'amotu.

Including all bush allotments, surveyed and non-
surveyed, statutory and customary allotments, as of December
[128] 1971, there were 5,652 bush allotments on Tongatapu. (This
figure is based on careful determination of the nature of
tenure for every parcel of land by the author and an
assistant in consultation with the Chief Draughtsman and
other personnel of the Lands and Survey Department). These
5,652 allotments comprised approximately 45,200 acres

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Table 12. Sample households having access to a specified number of Bush Allotments.

| Village | Bush Allotments per Household | | | | | Total | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 or more | House holds | Allot ments |
| Haveluliku | 0 | 7 | 1 | | | 8 | 9 |
| Patumu | 0 | 11 | 3 | 2 | 2(4,5) | 18 | 23 |
| Kolonga | 0 | 18 | 3 | 1 | 1(7) | 23 | 34 |
| Houma | 1 | 12 | 5 | | 1(5) | 19 | 27 |
| Kolovai | 0 | 13 | 2 | | | 15 | 17 |
| Ha'ateiho | 3 | 18 | 1 | | | 22 | 20 |
| Kolomotu'a | 22 | 9 | 1 | | | 12 | 11 |
| Kolof'ou | 10 | 15 | 1 | | | 26 | 17 |
| Ma'ufanga | | 7 | | | | 7 | 7 |
| TOTAL | 16 | 110 | 17 | 3 | 4 | 150 | 174 |

*Numbers in parentheses indicates the actual number of allotments if 4 or more.

(Source: Survey questionnaire data.)

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Although a great majority of the households have some access to bush and town allotments, the type of agriculture practiced on these allotments is affected by the nature of tenure. There are essentially four basic types of tenure.

457 pattern I believe that some of the problems are due to
458 increased tourist growth. Tongans must first stabilize
435 their basic economy before designs should be made for increased tourist growth.

## A CLOSER LOOK AT TOURISM

121 Borrowing some ideas from the late distinguished scholar, Jacob Bronowski, and the Australian academician, Derek Freeman, I should like to suggest that we need to look at the Pacific (and the people of Tonga) in terms of an "evolutionary model" of development. As Freeman has aptly stated it, "In recent years, evolutionary theory has emerged saliently as the unifying paradigm of all the biological sciences, from biochemistry to ecology."[7A] Evolution may be seen in the [182] twentieth century terms of neutrality: the adaptation of an organism to an environment. Successful adaptation comes by means of cooperation and not by competition.[8B]

Bronowski looks at the "evolution of complexity" and develops the model of "stratified stability"[9C] which states that evolution proceeds from

[p. 89-C]

A, B, C, [For footnotes, see p. 93-A--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 91-A]

/59 cont./

301 292 535 824

165. For example, kofu lou fau knotted of colored hibiscus bast for the laka-laka, ula and tau'olunga dances; kofu lou 'akau, of white tapa (feta 'aki) with mohokoi leaves (Cananga odorata), which are stitched on with hibiscus bast for the laka-laka and ma'ulu'ulu dances; sala sipi-sipi of tapa (feta'aki) dyed with European dye for the laka-laka, ma'ulu'ulu tau'olunga dances. Dance shirts are also made of white tapa (feta'aki) studded with shimmering shells or red seed capsules. For dances some /women/ like to adorn themselves with maile leaves (Alyxia species) around neck, waist and wrists.

and the tapa vala trimmed with leaves, worn on similar occasions by women and by the men who may possibly take part. In the kie-kie lou fau, the dance shirts and the dance vala, old and new cultural assets are fused, the Tongan basic material and ancient basic forms being "enriched" with European dyes, imported plants and novel form elements (for example, sleeves, decorations).

292 535 179 301

301 184 565 There is no longer a distinction made between nobles and commoners in the realm of adornment.

In general, it made be said of today's adornment in Tonga that the former varied richness it represented for the native has gone and was in no sense replaced by European cultural assets. The plant adornment, as well as the (partly altered) dance garments are the only important vestiges which, to be sure, are still very much bound up with Tongan life.

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## Tattooing

304 [178] [182] In the art of tattooing there was an even greater change, which we may characterize as degeneration.

In ancient Tonga all men, with the exception of the highest dignitaries, (166)

166. Probably on account of special taboos.

/93 cont./

361 178 remote from their corresponding villages. Here, for a few days, weeks or months (sometimes also years) live those men (seldom with their families) who wish to devote themselves intensively to their remote plantations, who give up the social life of the village and take the trouble to go the long distance to church. This is a development, though not a significant one, since it is very limited.

[565] Only Mu'a on Tongatapu was already at that time probably a village-like settlement of various chiefs. (268)

268. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 7; J. Wilson, A missionary voyage.../cited in English/ p. 285.

361 669 178 [712] [199] During the civil wars (1797-1852) the people of most of the islands sought refuge in fortified places and soon became accustomed to living together in townlike settlements, especially since, after the Christianization of the Archipelago (1826-1852), this made frequent church-going much easier. In the beginning, these newly formed villages /94/ seem to have been rather well kept. (269)

[113] 269. Compare J. Dumont d'Urville, Voyage pittoresque... loc. cit. II. p. 78; the same, Voyage au Pol Sud et dans l'Oceanie...Histoire du Voyage /Voyage to the South Pole and Oceania...Account of the voyage/. vol. IV. Paris 1842. pp. 138, 153, 352; Th. West, Ten years in South-Central Polynesia... /cited in English/ London 1865. p. 44.

361 177 182 Their deterioration set in during the growing European influences which very much decreased the natives' interest in various tasks once carefully and intensively carried out, and which, of course, also caused various Tongan crafts to die out or become crude.

However, this deterioration of the settlements is only external. 621 186 The feeling of solidarity, the community consciousness of the Tongans seems as strong as in old times. It may even have grown as a result

/97 cont./

476 guests. Everybody is satisfied except one woman of the kautaha who
527 did not fulfill her "quota" (a length of tapa and two mats); she
574 spent some time on a visit to another island, and is very sad because
(554) of the bad impression she made on the audience.

476 Like the kautaha itself, the festival seems to be a recent
527 institution in which all kinds of old and new customs and traditions
574 mingle. Such festivals probably serve to stimulate achievement and
178 provide public control over work. Among the members of the kautaha,
182 they fulfill the need for recognition within the social group and at
621 the same time give large circles of the village community the much
(626) desired opportunity for a happy social life. However, the entire
village community is not included in such a festival. The kautaha
(203) invites relatives and friends, members of other kautaha and, above
all, the influential men of the village (often with written invitations),
so that the festival group includes approximately one-third or /98/
one-quarter of all adults of a particular settlement. Those who are
not invited feel that it is a matter of courtesy not to attend the
festival.

527 Other festivities (272)
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272. Aside from the various "picnics" /cited in English/ on the beach or in the bush, organized by young men and girls.

in the villages are nowadays usually connected with the church. Thus, every Sunday, members of the three Wesleyan churches of Tonga take turns giving a feast (faka-afe), usually mornings and afternoons following the church services, to which the preachers, the eldest kinsman of the host, and friends are invited. After a kava circle a
(262) meal is served (for example, the contents of an earth-oven: a pig,
(272) yams, sweet potatoes, a large salt-water fish, canned meat and manioc pudding; or white bread with marmelade, cocoa and condensed milk),

/99 cont./

return, collects presents. Brass bands or groups of guitar players go about in the same way.

It is not only on these festivals that the Christian religion has taken on a certain importance in the community life of the village. It is specifically through the integration of large sections of the population in the many services of the various churches that it exerts a certain influence on group formation in all settlements. Moreover, the bringing together of numerous adults of both sexes in the choirs (each with some 50-150 voices strong) of the individual Wesleyan churches has become important in the community life of many villages, for the numerous evening rehearsals are a very welcome change in the everyday life of the vocally gifted and song-loving Tongan men and women.

Whereas the festivals mentioned (kautaha-show, faka-afe), the church services and the choirs each unite only a certain part of the village population (through membership or by special invitation), the old Tongan custom of the sociable kava circle has remained an institution of community life that is accessible to every adult male Tongan.

In ancient Tonga more kava was probably drunk than on the other islands of the South Seas. (273)

273. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...VI. p. 224; Johann Reinhold Forster's Bemerkungen... /Comments/ p. 416.

Although the missionaries did not by any means encourage the natives in this custom, (274)

274. See J.E. Erskine, Journal of a cruise among the islands of the western Pacific... /cited in English/ London 1853. p. 149.

it determines social life at least as much today as in the past and perhaps even more. In Tonga far more kava is drunk than in Samoa

/101 cont./ The men gathered together

276 574 521 (usually between five and fifteen ) talk. The older ones speak about their plantations and their remarkable harvests or setbacks, or about fishing and the various methods employed. They will also discuss in detail the special events on the island and in the Archipelago, and from minor and harmless occurrences the most exciting stories may develop. The younger ones take part in these conversations, or they will chat with the girl preparing the kava. (282)

282. She does not drink the kava and may not leave her seat throughout the entire session; once she goes out, another girl must continue in her stead.

[533] Sometimes the younger ones may sing, and then the quiet, even conversation of the older ones will cease. While new kava drink is prepared and 276 574 served again and again, the group stays together, from early evening, for example, until far into the night, sometimes even until daybreak. In this case, the old custom is sometimes observed that the men, on [431] the next day, will prepare a large earth-oven (possibly with a pit) as "compensation" for their wives, and the wives will give them gifts of tapa and mats.

There are no special houses for kava circles within the village. Every house of a specific minimal size is suitable. In every village there are several kava gatherings in different houses every [182] day (especially in the evening). In general, the men do not go [621] regularly to a specific kava circle; the houses as well as the members of the groups change, and this fulfills the essential function of kava drinking, namely, to unite the male members of the village community beyond all separation through family life and the religious affiliation, in any combination and at any time.

276 574 461 Not only in these free social gatherings, but also on all special occasions kava drinking is a necessary accompaniment. At every type of community work in the village, for example if a few

100: Koch--151 E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1955 0U9 Tonga 0U9

/103 cont./

565 564 chief. (287)

287. See J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 288; II. pp. 90/91; E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society /cited in English/. p. 140.

565 182 Since the social order for all concerned (except for a few ambitious chiefs) was taken for granted, and even the "repressed" commoners "without rights" had sufficient economic means to be able to live rather comfortably, (288)

288. See J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 287.

the system functioned for many centuries, so that Cook was able to write: "In fact, I cannot think of any civilized people who show in all public affairs such a tendency towards order, such willingness to obey the commands of their chiefs or who, in all classes, are so harmoniously united, seemingly animated by one spirit, as are these islanders." (289)

289. J. Cook, Beschreibung...VI. p. 296.

565 177 799 The Christianization of the Archipelago brought changes in this social stratification. Naturally, the missionaries were obliged to insist on breaking the absolute power of the chiefs (which was, moreover, closely connected with the "superstitious" taboo ideas of the natives) and "freeing" the mass of the people from their "slavery." [671] [643] [642] The most important step in this direction was the Wesleyan missionary-inspired emancipation declaration of Tu'i Kanokupolu George I, on June 4, 1862. The constitutions of 1862 and 1875 and their effects on daily life gradually weakened the old order. The chiefs, who lost their old taboo-protection and their taboo-power in the now Christianized Archipelago, forfeited their principal authority when the commoners became independent tenant farmers (for life). /104/

565 178 Yet the old system was so ingrained in the minds of all Tongan and had penetrated daily life so intensively that it is only now, nine

/122 cont./

423 565 certain restriction on the properties of chiefs and above all on their power; every commoner feels free, and no one is anxious about his land, since the chiefs can no longer arbitrarily exert their power over the people. Nevertheless, since the Crown has ultimate right [182] [425] [427] to all land and gives out part of it to the nopele as feudal tenure and to commoners as leased property, the basis of the old system seems to have been upheld. Present-day land distribution can insure a 423 425 permanent settlement of the land and bodes well for the Tongans, to remain by and large a farming people, even though the system, which is good in theory, shows certain weaknesses in practice. With the [432] [671] legal prohibition to sell land, the present method of land distribution also gives the natives an invaluable protection against the land-aquiring interests of Europeans.

c)Administration of Justice.

69 178 A very considerable change took place in Tonga in the field of justice administration.

In ancient Tonga there was no government regulated jurisdiction. Judges, police, and prisons were unknown. A few offenses against [784] taboo rules were not punished by the hand of man, for people believed in punishment by supernatural forces. The various "cases" which came 692 565 up as a result of other offenses of Tongan customs and habits 681 (especially in the existing noble-commoner relationship) were taken care of by the chiefs as they saw fit. In general, punishment was 681 meted out as soon as possible after the deed. The chief punishments were: beating (for example, with the palm of the hand on the naked back, with the fist on the head and face), tying (arms and legs for days), and execution (for example, striking with a club or drowning in the sea with a leaking boat). Influential chiefs seem at times [565] [692] to have acted as arbiters. (337)

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16,704 tons in 1950 and to 19,222 tons in 1951 (ibid., p. 12); only a few white planters are included in these amounts.

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Finally, the fact that the Tonga Islands, through their copra production, have become a member (though a small one) of world economy is having a certain political, commercial and, above all, economic importance for the natives, depending on the state of the world market.

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Yet the possibility of producing copra is too limited on the islands, and the traditional economic and communal system of the Tongans is too closely knit, and the people themselves are too even-tempered for this to lead to the destruction of the traditional life of the natives. The old, basic economic structure has remained. Copra and money have become an essential attribute to their former way of life, but still only an attribute that can be renounced, though renunciation would bring with it all kinds of hardships.

D. Plaiting, Knotting, and Tapa-Making

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Most Tongan women even today spend a large part of their time plaiting, knotting and making tapa.

/205/ Among the plait work, mats are particularly important on account of the labor involved in making them and their significance for Tongan daily life as well as for festivities. The following types may be distinguished: floor mats, seat mats, sleeping mats, belt mats and display mats; the "pola" plaited of coconut palm leaves, which are used to make walls and to cover roofs, are also to be mentioned here. Some of the mat types--because of various raw materials and different ways of making them--must be further subdivided into individual types. The following list may give a picture of how the most common Tongan mats are used and made:

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454 [436] [402] [181] [179] [652] [453] however, represent a very small minority with an "un-Tongan business sense."--It is quite interesting that a larger group of Tongans, such as probably exists from what has just been said, seems to have taken over the European habit of money-saving, for at the end of 1951 the Government Savings Bank /cited in English/ reported 6134 savings accounts with deposits of 181,611£T. (649)

649. Colonial Office, Report on Tonga for the Years 1950 and 1951. p. 11.

However, it is more a matter of "safe-keeping of sums of money for a limited time; than a "continuous accumulation of deposits," for in the same year the withdrawals exceeded the deposits.

452 426 There is no real indebtedness among the Tongans, for shopkeepers throughout the Archipelago today sell mostly for cash. Only a few Tongan grocers on the smaller islands sell goods on credit. But they [671] demand of those countrymen, who /245/ seem to them unreliable, securities (for example, valuable mats); it also happens that natives pawn coconut harvests and other plantation products, though this is forbidden by law.

436 177 178 182 [425] Money has had a certain negative influence on the social life of the Tongans inasmuch as some natives have gone over to selling food and other things to their countrymen, which were formerly, as a matter of principle, given them without direct quid pro quo. Some Tongans even take advantage of the old traditional system of "anticipated reciprocity" by asking their neighbors for something and receiving this "for nothing," according to the old custom, while they themselves fulfill similar wishes only against payment in money. Another case is that of S.M. on Nomuka who immediately pays for everything he requests and receives from his neighbors, in order to avoid the obligation of having to give something himself, the next time, without being repaid. Thus money can have an alienating effect

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436 197 178 182 within the community. Yet up to the present time the old feeling of solidarity of the Tongans proved to be stronger, especially on the small islands where those who, for instance, give plantation products to their neighbors only for money are regarded as alien elements in the village community. In and around the chief towns, (432) (574) however, selling of food is already taken for granted, but at the same time community feeling has not been destroyed in these settlements; for example, every Tongan can enter here a house uninvited and take part in a meal.

Thus money has become an important economic factor in Tonga. The natives have become accustomed to it to a certain extent. In the harbor towns of the Archipelago, especially, money has brought about certain changes and has had, in part, a negative, though as yet a limited influence on the old community life. An average Tongan, however, does not have the attitude toward money characteristic of a European. The reasons for this lies not only in the more even- (181) tempered, casual manner of these natives and in the fact that thinking in terms of money and self-interest are contrary to the Tongan tradition, but especially in the fact that today, as in old times, they can still live without money. Although every Tongan man and woman, even on the smallest islands of the Archipelago, comes into contact with money, some of these natives do not have a penny, for they live chiefly on their land and can ask relatives or neighbors for whatever they need from the outside world.

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## 4. THEIR RELIGION

771 197 999 As for the religion of the Tongans, the strongest European influences (missions) are to be noted, which have led to a fundamental change in this field.

772 The ancient Polynesian (and the ancient Tongan) conception of the

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[154] to be neither physically nor psychically weakened by the change in their culture, or in their way of life.

The process of cultural change in Tonga is long past its beginning. The change in most areas has gone as far as was possible under the conditions, and a certain stabilization can be observed. The result is a new, sound and strong culture that is neither ancient Tongan nor European. Yet the development is by no means completed, but is still going on. It is noteworthy that the Tongans scarcely carry it further, but simply make use of it. We may thus speak of a "new order" that continues and is further developed almost entirely by advice and teaching, enticement and intervention on the part of Europeans. A creative development of their own, but for a few exceptions that seem unimportant, (5)

5. For example, in the material culture, the transverse hatchet fale-vatu (pp. 200-202), the lead sinker for fishnets (pp. 270-272), the iron coconut scraper (pp. 289-291), cigars (suluka) (pp. 297-298), the copra knife (pp. 300-301) and the koka scraper (pp. 326-328); these things (or some of them) the Tongans could also have borrowed from the other archipelagos!

is not to be noted. This has its cause chiefly in the nature of these human beings. But one must also consider that the time for a further development has been relatively brief, (6)

6. The inner relationship to that which was taken over is, to a certain extent, still lacking, for it has not been entirely internalized.

that the Archipelago lies rather isolated in the ocean, and the environment of these people is not stimulating, that the Islands have no mineral resources and that no climatic or other special pressures stimulate the islanders and spur them on to a further development of what they have received.

[182] As for the command of their environment, these natives still

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177 178 182 possess, in essence, their old capabilities, they have remained "masters of their world." They have even added to their former ability through ideas and facilities taken over from Europeans. But with it they have come to depend, to a certain extent, on whites and their goods, though this /dependence/ is not too great, since they could, even today, live without the help of Europeans.

If today all whites should leave and the Archipelago should sink back to its pre-European isolation, there would be no privation and no chaos. The Tongans could provide for themselves from their own land. The lack of canned meat they would have to make up for by somewhat more industrious fishing. Sugar they could /290/ obtain from their sugarcane and by planting Cordyline terminalis (see pp. 249-250). Other European items that are convenient accessories and improvements would be replaced by corresponding old Tongan commodities; thus, for example, instead of kerosene lamps they would go back to coconut oil lamps and torches, and instead of Lux soap they would use sand, bark and leaves. They still know how to build houses in the traditional way using indigenous material. Real emergencies would arise only in the case of tools, clothing and boat-building. But there would be no actual hardship, since some axe blades (in the case of fale-vatu, for example) (7)

7. See pp. 200-202.

have been in use often more than 80 years (inherited from grandfathers) and the Tongans themselves know how to make tools from old iron they often find in the ground; they would then gradually go back to stone blades of which many Tongans still possess "models." The question of clothing too is not acute since tapa and mats are still commonly produced. In boat-building they would go back as much as possible to native construction, though here there would be some difficulties

/290 cont./

177 which they would have to overcome. The Europeanized, that is, Anglicized
178 government and administration would easily fall back into the ancient
182 Tongan rhythm, especially since much of it is carried out in form rather than meaning, and the whites are more or less the driving force. Christianity, the churches, would, however, continue to flourish. In sum--it would be a Tongan culture with European enrichment, perhaps drowsing away, perhaps left alone too soon to act on its own, but it would be autarkic and altogether capable of survival.

177 The further question arises, whether or not the influence on
178 Tongan culture and its change may be called "good and useful."

Modern Tonga is more of less in the state wished for by the missionaries and the white administrative officals; perhaps for the latter its development is a little too slow. For the whites in general relatively little gain has accrued from the Europeanization of the Tonga Archipelago: Christianity has spread over this territory, there is some advantage for world trade, and there are small benefits for the British Empire.--

The natives have lost the inclusiveness of their ancient Tongan culture. The European-Tongan contact produced an adapted culture in transition in which, in some cases, old and new have long since become fused, but in others they still exist side by side. Exposed to the useful as well as the harmful influences of a culture that grew in distant Europe, the Tongans have not become unhappy.--

Since the Tonga Islands were, after all, discovered and therefore confrontation with the Europeanized world had to be faced, one feels that this development is not the worst for these people. In viewing it, we must free ourselves from emotional thinking and prejudices. Even though we must not forget that this mixed culture does not have the unique quality and the complete inner coherence of ancient Tongan

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S 177 178

time were not able radically to change the ancient Samoan way of life.

In its most important aspects it has changed only slightly. The social order has remained (more than in Tonga), and important parts of the economic life have been preserved. Even the change in religion has disrupted little and has scarcely altered the culture as a whole. As among most Tongans, the traditional way of life satisfies the majority of Samoans and, in spite of unmistakable new interests and needs, it leaves them content. (24)

S [596] (554)

24. One danger for the old order is the fact that the great population increase has not been accompanied by an increase (dividing-up) of the matai titles, and thus the prospect which the non-titled have of being chosen a matai head even more critical is the fact that it is precisely the younger generation that aspires to greater influence in the families.

T [177] These natives, like the inhabitants of the Tonga Islands, have managed perfectly to take over individual parts of European culture and to fit them into their own or to modify them so that they are given typical Samoan characteristics; (25)

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25. For example, in music, dance and play; also with respect to religion (the matai who, in former times, as head of the family, invoked the gods, today leads the prayers of his family), and with respect to the use of various European commodities (tools), imported food and money (marriage customs).

thus an adaptation to European ways has been achieved which is scarcely felt as an alien element in the dominant Samoan culture. Here too, however, there has been no independent creative, later development of what was taken over.

S T 177 182

The Samoans, like their relatives in the small kingdom, have kept their old ability to master their environment, and /300/ this has

100: Koch--452 E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9
Samoa OU8
Fijians OQ4

/300 cont./

S T 177 182 increased through European ideas and the material goods of the whites. The /state of/ dependence which this has brought about for these islanders is limited, as in the case of the Tongans; for basically, the Samoans can also live on what land and sea and their work can give them, and the loss of all that has been newly acquired would not mean a catastrophe.

S T 177 178 S [181] Thus a comparison of the culture change in Tonga with that of Samoa shows a similar development and a similar result. The, in part, greater preservation of culture in the latter Archipelago may be traced back, first of all, to the more conservative attitude of the Samoans; on the other hand, this difference may be explained by the absence of strong European influences in the areas in question, quite apart from the multiplicity of imponderables that are often so important in such developments.

B. In the Fiji Islands

F 177 As a further example for comparison let us mention the culture change among the Fijians. Here too we find a simple island-native culture remote from the continents, which came under the impact of the diverse and superior European culture. This Archipelago, however, in the course of its development, became a British economic colony in which an important third population element (after that of the whites), namely the Indian one, became indigenous and outstripped the native population both numerically and economically.

F [563] [648] Naturally, "European culture as a whole" was not transplanted to the Fiji Islands; rather, the natives became acquainted only with individual parts or major segments of it, and the contact, especially in its early phases, was not systematic, though it must be emphasized that British administration after the Islands were taken over sought to preserve not only the trade-policy interests of the whites, but

F 177 648

/310 cont./ Likewise in the ecclesiastical sphere conditions in both island groups are similar insofar as /311/ there are likewise various denominations in the Fiji Archipelago; (36)

36. Wesleyan Church, Roman Catholic Church, Adventists, Anglican Church, Presbyterians.

yet these natives have not come around to founding churches independently.

In the field of art it can be noted that both song and instrumental music as well as poetry and the dance have undergone changes (adoption of European heritage, fusion of old and new, loss of ancient cultural heritage) similar to those undergone by the corresponding arts of the Tongans. Games too seem changed, as in Tonga.

In /the realm of general/ knowledge and hence in the Fijian conception of the world, European influences (especially schools and churches) likewise have their effects. Almost every native child today has an elementary school education--as in the Tonga Archipelago--and in general the children here too learn quite willingly. The system of transmitting European knowledge through schools is, however, limited since the effectiveness of some elementary schools still leaves much to be desired, and relatively few pupils have the opportunity for higher education. The Tongan educational system seems somewhat more progressive in this respect, and actually offers too much schooling for conditions there. While in that Archipelago the young people who have successfully attended college and can find no entrance to the higher professions devote themselves as a matter of course to the farm work of their fathers, it is reported in this colony that those whose school education is completed largely scorn village life and, we are told, there is a "constant increase of a discontented class of half-educated youth" /cited in English/. (37)

100: Koch--469 E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9
Fijians QQ4

/311 cont./

37. Legislative Council, Fiji. Secretary for Fijian Affairs. Annual Report, 1948. Council Paper No. 27. p. 8.

The difference to be observed in Tonga in the culture change between the more remote villages, on the one hand, and the towns favorably located with respect to transport facilities, on the other, is, of course, to be noted to an increasing extent in the Fiji Colony. The rapid development of overseas contacts and the founding of industries influence the lives of those who dwell in or near important centers. In the urbanlike settlements, especially in the lowlands of Viti Levu, the culture of the Fijians is subject to the greatest influence, and the difficulty of "uniting the two worlds" (which here are actually four because of the Indians and Chinese living here, besides the Europeans) is greatest for the natives in these places. Here one also notes a beginning individualism among the natives; yet in general the Fijians who have developed an especially successful initiative show toward their own people /312/ neither greediness nor stinginess, characteristics which scarcely existed in their old native community. In the villages near these centers a certain unrest has arisen through the exodus of young people who could not resist the power of attraction of the urbanlike settlements.

Seen as a whole, there has been no breakdown in the old style of living on the Fiji Islands. After the restless times of the 19th century resulting from the intervention of Europeans, and after the alarming drop in population a notable, continuous positive development began which is not very different from that which took place in Tonga. In comparing the culture change in Tonga with the change in Fijian culture it is noteworthy that, despite the stronger and more powerful influence brought to bear on the latter by foreigners, so much essential age-old tradition in the social life and the means of

/322 cont./
them into their culture and finally /323/ regard them as natural possessions. But, like those Islanders, they too are steadfast and conservative in maintaining essential features of their old life style and at the same time they lack understanding of many "improvements" and novel ideas. (51)

51. See their adherence to their own means of subsistence, as well as their non-European attitude towards money.

The culture change here too caused no collapse of the old way of life, and no obvious cultural decline (in the sense of a disintegration) is to be observed. Basic elements of the old culture have been preserved. The natives seem physically and mentally unimpaired. Despite a certain dependence on whites, their old ability to master their environment seems to have been preserved. (52)

52. An independent further development of what was taken over is, however, not to be noted here either.

Though the cultural change does not seem complete by any means, there is a certain stabilization to be noted, and in the newly arisen culture the native element is decidely dominant. Among the reasons for this development one must mention first of all the characteristics of these human beings, the nature and strength of their old culture, the absence of direct forcible intervention by Europeans, as well as their relatively small number in Buganda which has remained a land of natives and has not become a settlement area of whites.

## 3. THE CAUSES UNDERLYING THE COURSE OF THE CULTURE CHANGE IN TONGA

After having discussed in detail the change in Tongan culture and drawn comparisons with the changes in other cultures, we may now, on the basis of this detailed material, present an interpretation of this development, that is to say, a survey of causes.

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9



000 expanded agricultural base and a program of commodity imports from nations still producing a food surplus; or (3) approach a level of population at which point natural controls (i.e., malnutrition and/or starvation) set in to bring the population into balance with the supporting capacity of the land.

166 178 [369] In addition to the basic difficulty of population-food imbalance, Tonga must also contend with the physical shifting of its population from rural to urban settings, and the economic shift of elements of the population from a traditional subsistence agriculture to a cash economy. Both of these changes in the character of Tongan population tend to aggravate the overall population-food and agricultural imbalance.

369 171 Rates of urbanization in the entire South Pacific region are among the highest in the world, when considered as a percentage of total population. If one includes the nations of Australia and New Zealand, the peoples of the South Pacific are the most urbanized in the world on a proportional basis (Urban Problems in the South Pacific, 1967, p. 2; Urbanization in the South Pacific, 1962, p. 1). Tonga, since the end of World War II, has seen rapid growth in its capital city, which has nearly tripled in size.

369 [182] This changing characteristic of the population has in itself had a significant impact on the natural environment of Tonga. In addition, as urbanization continues to expand, social issues including housing, public health, and sanitation grow proportionally.

[312] As in most other island environments in the South Pacific, water for

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drinking and sanitation remains, at best, in a precarious balance with growing urban population.

The process of urbanization has several causes which are significant in the framework of this research. Since the mid-1960s, the development of tourism, and its associated activities, have been stressed in the developmental plans of all island governments in the Southwest Pacific. This has had two immediate results in Tonga. First, many individuals within the agricultural sector of the population have given up their subsistence agricultural activities and moved into urban centers hoping to secure cash employment in handicraft or tourist related activities. This is particularly the case in Nuku'alofa, Tongatapu and Neiafu, Vava'u. This movement has not only rapidly increased the urban population but has also decreased the total acreage in agricultural production, or changed production from food crops to cash crops. Others of the rural population, who remain on their farms, often devote increasing amounts of time to the production of craft items. However, because of the rate of expansion in Tongan population, total rural population has continued to increase. Therefore, as rural population continues to grow, agricultural food production is decreasing and urban population is rapidly expanding.

The second important result of urbanization, without considering the social and cultural impact, is the growing reliance upon imported foods and urban oriented materials (Horine 1967, p. 43). As urban population increases and agricultural production of foodstuffs proportionally decreases, food imports become necessary.

241 diminishing return, during which nutrient demands upon the soil by
134 weeds and grasses are equal to or greater than that being restored.

As stated previously, a further complication to soil fertility results from the traditional practice of burning-over the land, prior to initiating the planting cycle. The burned vegetable residue represents a return of a thin layer of mineral ash to the soil, consisting primarily of calcium, magnesium, phosphorus, and potassium. With the addition of rain and new plant growth, these mineral components become mobile within the soil. However, the nitrogen contained in the fallow vegetation is lost in the burning process, and therefore not returned to the soil. Thus, available nitrogen for crop production may actually be reduced.

241 The fallowing period may last from one year to as long as ten years. Examples of these longer fallowing periods were encountered in interviews, as well as occasional plots which had never been fallowed. The average time schedule consists of three to six years in fallowing and two to four years in cropping. However, no farmer reported following a predetermined schedule, basing decisions upon crop yields.

241 Variations in the length of time allotted to cropping and
● 182 fallowing were noted in relation to population density. In Ha'apai and western Tongatapu, where land shortage is related to population density, relatively short periods of fallowing are followed by
[244] longer periods of cropping. In addition, the practice of retaining cassava growth, and occasionally taro, on fallow acreage was noted in these regions. Explanations for this, presented during interviews,

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241 ranged from spontaneous growth to a safeguard against periods of
182 food shortage.

241 Entering land into fallow was found to be a gradual process. Tubers, and occasionally bananas and plantain, may continue to be harvested from the plot for several years after the cessation of active cultivation. Coconuts are also produced in fallowing plots, independent of the bush fallow system.

Increasingly, in more densely populated areas of the Kingdom, this combination of fallow and cropping is being practiced, whereby a farmer plants cassava on the fallow plot and allows grasses and weeds to grow unhindered. The only incidence of weeding is at the time of planting and then in only the immediate planting site. This activity may last for several years, or occasionally for the entire fallow period, followed by the planting of yams or
[23] taro. Only in western Tongatapu was the addition of any fertilizer (an occasional application of small quantities of pig manure) noted.

241 Fallowing is traditional to Tongan agriculture. However,
178 due to population growth in many areas of the Kingdom, increasing
[182] demand for land is modifying the fallow system. Surveys indicated an average fallow time of three to six years. It was the opinion of over 81 percent of those farmers interviewed, and who had land in fallow, that the average fallowing time is evidencing a slow but
[434] steady decrease. Farmers are finding it necessary to devote more of their acreage to some form of semi-permenant cultivation, in order to meet subsistence requirements, or to secure an adequate level of cash income through local sale of produce.

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369 596 593 591 166 employment is found or a means of establishing a new urban household is secured. At this point division is accomplished and the newly urbanized family becomes another potential host to migrating relatives. This system with its chain nature of migratory urbanization was observed in many of the surveyed urban households.

369 166 Thus, migration to urban areas has been in response to economic and social pressures for education, employment and the prestige of urban living, plus a lessening attachment to the traditional village life style. Therefore, migratory trends are indicative of cultural and economic changes in Tonga, which are expected to continue.

436 178 With the development of cash cropping and a greater dependency being placed upon a cash economy, money has become an essential to the average Tongan. Not only is it needed to meet social obligations (i.e., education, taxes and church contributions) but it is also increasingly important in satisfying the basic subsistence 178 needs of both rural and urban residents. The desire to increase 241 cash income has altered the agricultural pattern of the nation 182 from traditional to cash cropping, thus eliminating a dependency upon the land for production of food and material necessities. [458] [731] These changes have been facilitated by fluctuations in post-World War II copra prices, and such natural disasters as drought and hurricanes.

369 166 [464] While Nuku'alofa does not offer full-time employment to most migrants, there remains the possibility for part-time labor, sufficient to meet the minimum cash requirements. Thus, urban